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 But flies dismay'd when British Thunders roar.
Nūquā̃ Custodibꝯ illis
Impacatas a tergo horrebꝯ Feros



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THE
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With some Account of the Places attack'd in the present War.

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Prescott Rogers
HISTORICAL COLLECTION

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By J. H. P. ...

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THE P R E F A C E.



Believe I may venture to affirm, that there are no Books whatsoever, which can pretend to a greater Share of the Utile Dulci, the Useful and Entertaining, than those which give us a faithful Account of Travels and Navigation.

The Advantages the Publick reaps from them are so very considerable, that whatever is found useful elsewhere, seems only a Stream derived from this Fountain. Every Science is improved, by the Discoveries they communicate, and that in such a measure, that our present Knowledge seems almost entirely owing to them. What was Geography no longer since than an Hundred and fifty Years ago, but an imperfect Fragment of a Science, scarce deserving the Name? for, at that time, little more of the World was known than only Europe, a small Part of Africk, and the lesser Half of Asia; so that, of the whole terraqueous Globe, scarce a sixth Part had ever been seen or heard of. Nay, so ignorant were the greatest Scholars in this Particular, that

A

they

they fondly imagined all beyond the Bounds of their own Knowledge to be desert and uninhabitable. Agreeable to the Opinion we find in Ovid :

Utque duæ dextra Cælum, totidemq; sinistra
Parte secant Zonæ, quinta est ardentior illis;
Sic onus inclusum numero distinxit eodem
Cura Dei, totidemq; plagæ tellure premuntur.
Quarum quæ media est non est habitabilis æstu;
Nix tegit alta duas; totidem inter utramq;
locavit,

Temperiemq; dedit, mista cum frigore flamma.

METAMOR. L. I.

*And as five Zones th' Ætherial Regions bind,
Five correspondent are to Earth assign'd;
The Sun, with Rays directly darting down,
Makes inaccessible the middle Zone.
The two beneath the dreary Poles complain
Of endless Winter, and perpetual Rain.
Betwixt th' Extreame two happier Climates
hold*

The Temper that partakes of hot and cold.

DRYDEN.

*But now our Eyes are open'd, and that no Part is without Inhabitants, unless, perhaps, the frozen Polar Regions, is demonstrated to us, by those who have visited all other Countries, even the most remote, which they have found well peopled, and, in general, rich and delightful. The Antipodes are not only proved, but pointed out to us; and the many Constellations never seen before, are a sufficient Evidence how much Astronomy is indebted to Navigation. Then, as to Natural History, how much is it enrich'd by the noble Addition of Thousands of Plants, Drugs, and
Spices*

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Spices it never knew before; with the vast Variety of Birds, Beasts, Fishes, Insects, Stones, and Minerals, peculiar to several Countries; not to mention the Diversity of Complexions, Tempers, Habits, Manners, Politicks, and Religions, which are almost as various amongst the Inhabitants of differing Climates, as the Air they breathe?

Trade is also raised to the highest pitch, the Sources of this fruitful Nile, which were conceal'd from former Ages, are now laid open, each Part of the World supplying the other with what it wants, and bringing home what is most precious and valuable; and this not in a scanty manner, as when the Venetians served all Europe with Spices and Drugs from India, by the expensive way of Turkey and the Red Sea, or as when Gold and Silver were only drawn from some poor European and African Mines; but, in Affluence and Plenty; most Nations resorting freely to the East-Indies, and the West yearly sending forth prodigious Quantities of the most esteem'd and valuable Metals.

To conclude, the Empire of Europe is now extended to the utmost Bounds of the Earth, where several of its Nations have Settlements and Colonies.

These, and many more, are the Advantages we receive from the Labours of those, who expose themselves to Dangers on the vast Ocean, and amongst unknown Nations, which those who sit at home abundantly reap in every kind.

Then as to the Entertaining; What can be more agreeable, than to be insensibly engaged in the midst of their surprizing Adventures; to compass Sea and Land with them, and to converse

verse with all Nations; to be now in a populous City, and now in a Desert; to rejoice with them in the Port, and tremble with them in the Storm; and all this in their Accounts, without stirring a foot, and with no greater a share of Pain than serves to heighten the Pleasure?

Besides, without some Acquaintance with the Laws, Customs, and Manners of other Countries, we could not form a right Notion of our own, nor be able to set a true Value upon them; for it is with Nations as with particular Men; for a Man to know himself, is justly esteem'd the Height of Human Wisdom; but this can never be attain'd, without a due Knowledge of Persons and Things round about him.

Having premised thus much of Travels in general, and the Benefit and Pleasure arising from them, the Reader will naturally expect some Account of this Work; why it was undertaken at all, after so many Things of this kind already publish'd, and wherein it differs from those which went before it.

In answer to this, I shall first observe, that in all the Collections of this kind which have hitherto appear'd, no care has been had to separate the Dross from the Gold, but every thing has been taken in without Distinction, good or bad, just as it came to hand; whereby the Reader has not only a great deal of base Metal imposed upon him for sterling, but is often confounded in his Judgment, by inconsistent Relations; besides his being sure to meet with frequent Repetitions of the same Thing, having, perhaps, nine or ten Voyages to one Country, and not one to another.

To remedy this Inconvenience, we propose to give our Readers one or two of the most approved Voyages

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Voyages and Travels into every Part of the World, at full length; and the rest shortned in such a manner, as to contain no uselefs and unnecessary Recapitulations; and, to render our Method still more regular, we shall dispatch one Quarter of the Globe before we begin with another.

The other Reason which induced us to this Undertaking, was the large Price Books of this kind bear, so large indeed, that none but People of a competent Fortune can conveniently purchase them; which, we apprehend, very much defeats their End and Design, nay, the very End of Travelling itself; for to exclude the Majority from the Knowledge of its useful Discoveries, not only renders them so far ineffectual, but also robs the Adventurers themselves of the Honour they chiefly aim'd at, the doing a publick Benefit to their Country. Nay, I must maintain it to be a national Injury, since, by this means, a thousand useful Hints are kept from the Observation of those who might probably improve them to the general Advantage; not to mention, that the Recital of a brave Man's Actions are the best Incentives for others to imitate him, as Alexander is said to have taken Achilles for his Pattern, by reading of Homer.

But now it will be a Person's own Fault, whoever continues any longer a Stranger to this enchanting Study; for the manner in which we publish, puts it into every body's Power to buy that pleases; and as our Motives to this Work are so entirely a View to their Pleasure and Advantage, we hope the sensible Part of Mankind will think it their true Interest to encourage

The Reader may expect proper Maps of the Countries, with Cuts of remarkable Birds, Beasts, Fishes, Insects, Buildings, Habits, &c. exactly and curiously engraved; and may depend upon it, that no Endeavours of ours shall be wanting to make this the most compleat Thing that ever appear'd of the kind.

The whole will be introduced with a short Dissertation on the Rise, Progress, and Improvement of Navigation; after which we shall proceed to America, and, in particular, to the Discoveries and bloody Conquests made there by the Spaniards, where we shall find, that to Rob and Murder has always been the predominant Passion of that People.

Having thus given the Reader some Account of what he may expect from us, we shall conclude this Preface with a few Directions for such as travel, either by Sea or Land. The first are for those that go on long Voyages, and were drawn up by Mr. Rook, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and Geometry Professor of Gresham College, by Order of the said Society, and publish'd in the Philosophical Transactions of the 8th of January, 1665-6. They are as follows.

1. To observe the Declination of the Compass, or its Variation from the Meridian of the Place, frequently; marking withal the Latitude and Longitude of the Place where such Observation is made, as exactly as may be, and setting down the Method by which they made them.

2. To carry Dipping-Needles with them, and observe the Inclination of the Needle in like manner.

3. To

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3. To remark carefully the Ebbings and Flowings of the Sea, in as many Places as they can, together with all the Accidents, ordinary and extraordinary, of the Tides; as their precise Time of Ebbing and Flowing in Rivers, at Promontories or Capes, which way the Current runs, what perpendicular Distance there is between the highest Tide and lowest Ebb, during the Spring Tides and Neep Tides, what Day of the Moon's Age, and what Times of the Year the highest and lowest Tides fall out; and all other considerable Accidents they can observe in the Tides, chiefly near Ports, and about Islands, as in *St. Helena's Island*, and the three Rivers there, at the *Bermudas*, &c.

4. To make Plots and Draughts of Coasts, Promontories, Islands, and Ports, marking the Bearings and Distances as near as they can.

5. To sound and mark the Depth of Coasts and Ports, and such other Places near the Shore, as they shall think fit.

6. To take notice of the Nature of the Ground at the Bottom of the Sea, in all Soundings, whether it be Clay, Sand, Rock, &c.

7. To keep a Register of all Changes of Wind and Weather, at all Hours, by Night and by Day, showing the Point the Wind blows from, whether strong or weak; the Rains, Hail, Snow, and the like; the precise Times of their Beginnings, and Continuance, especially Hurricanes and Spouts; but, above all, to take exact Care to observe the Trade-Winds, about what Degree of Latitude and Longitude they first begin, where and when they

they cease or change, or grow stronger or weaker, and how much, as near and exact as may be.

8. To observe and record all extraordinary, Meteors, Lightnings, Thunders, *Ignes Fatui*, Comets, &c. marking still the Places and Times of their Appearing, Continuance, &c.

9. To carry with them good Scales, and Glafs Phials of a Pint, or so, with very narrow Mouths, which are to be fill'd with Sea Water in different Degrees of Latitude, as often as they please, and the Weight of the Phial full of Water taken exactly at every time, and recorded, marking withal the Degree of Latitude, and the Day of the Month; and that as well of Water near the Top, as at a greater Depth.

This may suffice for Sea Voyages; but, in regard to those who travel by Land, a few Instructions have been collected from experienced Travellers, who are best able to direct such as design to follow them into remote Countries. We shall begin with Monsieur de Bourges, who, with the Bishop of Berytus, made a Journey through Turkey, Persia, and India, as far as Cochinchina. He advises such as intend for those Parts, so to order their Affairs, that they may come into Turkey in October, to avoid the excessive Heats of those Countries for four or five Months before that Time. If our Traveller will hold on his Journey to Persia, he must go with the Caravan from Aleppo to Babylon, or Bagdat, which will take him up a Month; thence he embarks upon the River Euphrates, which carries him down to Bassorâ; whence he proceeds, by Sea, to Bander, where he may find Conveniency
by

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by Land to Ispahan, the Capital of Persia. From Ispahan the Difficulties of travelling by Land to India are almost invincible, and therefore the proper way is to repair to the Port of Gomron, whence there is a safe and constant Passage to Suratte, or any other Part of India. All Persons that travel in Turkey must change their Habit into that of the Country, and must lay aside the Hat, and wear a Turbant; and the meaner the Habit, the safer they will be from Extortions and Robberies. They must endeavour to have a Turkish Interpreter on the Road with them, who may own whatever Goods they carry, and protect them against any Affronts that may be offer'd them; but, above all, they must endeavour to be well recommended to the Captain of the Caravan, which will be their greatest Safe-guard. This Recommendation must be from some of the Christian Consuls, but, in general, it is best from the French, who are most regarded in those Parts. Such as will not carry all their Stock in ready Money, must be careful to carry those Commodities that will turn to best Account; among which the brightest yellow Amber, and the largest red Coral are in great Esteem. These, though not wrought, are profitable; and, to avoid the Duties paid at several Places, may be carried, in a Bag or Portmantua, on the Horse the Traveller rides, for those are not search'd. The best Money they can carry are Spanish Pieces of Eight, provided they are full Weight, and not those of Peru, which are not so fine Silver as the others. By this Money they will have seven or eight per Cent. Profit, in some Parts, and ten per Cent. in others, and the same in French Crowns. As for Gold, the

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greatest Profit is made of the Venetian and Hungarian, and it is very considerable. There is so great an Advantage to be made, by those who understand the best Coins and their Value, that those who are well instructed in it can travel for a very inconsiderable Expence. It is absolutely necessary that they carry good Arms, to defend themselves upon all Occasions, but more particularly to fight the Arabs, and other Rovers. Above all, it is requisite in Turkey that Travellers be arm'd with Patience, to bear many Affronts the Infidels will put upon them, and, with Prudence and Moderation, to prevent, as much as possible may be, any such Insolencies. They will do well never to go without Provisions, because the Caravans never stop to bait, and very often at Night have no other Inn but the open Fields, where they lie in Tents, and eat what they carry. When they travel with the Caravan, they must take care never to be far from it, for fear of being devour'd by wild Beasts, or the wilder Arabs. This in Turkey; for in Persia it is quite otherwise; here we may travel in the European Habit, and wear Hats, which are a better Defence against the Heat than Turbants; the Roads are safe, and the Persians courteous to Strangers, especially the better Sort. However the Traveller must watch the Servants, and meaner sort of People in the Country, who else will impose upon him in matter of Payments, in Buying and Selling; and therefore, his best way is, where there are Missionaries, to repair to them, who will assist and instruct him. He must carry no Gold into Persia, because it bears a low Price, and he will be a great Loser by it; the best way is, to change his Money on the Turkish Frontiers

Frontiers into Persian Coin, or else to carry a Quantity of good Amber and Coral, which will yield Profit, as will also good Watches. In India Spanish Gold yields some Profit, tho' small, which the Traveller may take notice of, in case he has no Goods to carry that may yield a greater Profit. This at Suratte; but further in India, and particularly at Golconda, Gold yields more, and especially old Gold. However, at Siam again there is a great Loss in Spanish Gold, and all other Sorts, for there it is lower than in any other Part of the East-Indies nearer to us, and still decreases beyond it, as in Cochinchina, Tonquin, and China. In India the Way of travelling by Land is commonly in Carts drawn by Oxen, and, in some Parts, on Elephants; but in China the most common Carriage is in Palankenes, or Chairs on Mens Shoulders, who travel swift and cheap.

These Particulars may serve in relation to the Eastern Nations; and as for Europe, the Methods of travelling are too well known to require any particular Instructions; wherefore we shall only set down some general Rules, the chief of which are taken from the accurate Monsieur Misson, and are well worthy the Observance of Travellers. They are, in the first Place, to consider, that they do not go into other Countries, to pass through them, and divert themselves with the present Sight of such Curiosities as they meet with, nor to learn the Vices of those People, for which they need not take the Pains of going abroad, nor to observe their Faults, that they may have Matter to rail when they come home. If they will make an Advantage of their Trouble and Cost, they must not pass through

a Country as if they carry'd an Express, but make a reasonable Stay at all Places where there are Antiquities, or any Rarities to be observed; and not think that because others have writ on that Subject, there is no more to be said; for, upon comparing their Observations with other Mens, they will find a very considerable Difference. Let them therefore always have a Table Book at hand, to set down every Thing worth remembring, and then, at Night, more methodically transcribe the Notes they have taken in the Day. The principal Heads by which to regulate their Observations are these, the Climate, Government, Power, Places of Strength, Cities of note, Religion, Coins, Trade, Manufactures, Wealth, Bishopricks, Universities, Antiquities, Libraries, Collections of Rarities, Arts and Artists, publick Structures, Roads, Bridges, Woods, Mountains, Customs, Habits, Laws, Privileges, strange Adventures, surprising Accidents, Rarities both natural and artificial, the Soil, Plants, Animals, and whatsoever may be curious, diverting, or profitable. It is not amiss, if it may be, to view all Rarities in the Company of other Strangers, because many together are apt to remark more than one alone can do. Every Traveller ought to carry about him several sorts of Measures, to take Dimensions of such Things as require it; a Watch, by which, and the Pace he travels, he may give some guess at the Distance of Places, or rather at the Length of the computed Leagues or Miles; a Prospective-Glass, or rather a great one and a less, to take Views of Objects at greater and less Distances; a small Sea-Compass

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or Needle, to observe the Situation of Places, and a Parcel of the best Maps, and to make curious Remarks of their Exactness, and note down where they are faulty. In fine, a Traveller must endeavour to see the Courts of Princes, to keep the best Company, and to converse with the most celebrated Men in all Arts and Sciences.

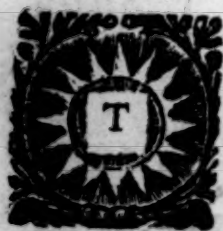


INTRO-



INTRODUCTION.

*Of the Rise, Progress, and Improvement
of NAVIGATION.*



THAT we have no Account of Navigation earlier than the time of *Noah's Ark*, is certain; nevertheless I cannot be of their Opinion, who take occasion from hence to deny all manner of Knowledge of the Use of Boats to the *Antediluvians*. They had a Sea and Rivers as well as we; and 'tis scarce probable, that in above sixteen hundred Years, which, according to the best Account, past between the Creation and the Deluge, no one should discover the Possibility of being borne upon the Water in proper Vessels. The floating of Wood which they must sometimes have observed in their Rivers, or the casual Swimming of the hollow Vessels Necessity obliged them to employ in taking up their Water, could not fail giving them the hint, nor have we much Reason to believe they would neglect to improve it, if we consider the early Progress they made in other less obvious and necessary Sciences. *Moses* nowhere tells us that the Ark *Noah* built was any thing new or surprizing to his Contemporaries; and it is evident from *Plato*, that there was

an ancient Tradition of Navigation being known before the Flood, but that the Art and Boats perish'd together at the Deluge; agreeable also to which is *Ovid's* Description of the Flood, *Metamorph. L. 1.*

*Occupat hic collem, cymba sedet alter adunca,
Et ducit remos illic, ubi nuper ararat.*

This to the Mountains, to his Boat that flies,
And, where he lately plough'd, his Oars now plies,

I allow this is only Conjecture, and therefore forbear to insist upon it; all I aim at being to shew, that those who assert *Noah's* Ark to have been the first Vessel ever made to carry Men on the Water, have neither sufficient Reason nor Authority for what they advance. But whether Navigation was known to the *Antediluvians* or not, it certainly was practised very soon after the Flood. It could not be above sixty or seventy Years after, that the Descendants of *Noah* growing too numerous to live together, Part of them journey'd from Mount *Ararat*, where the Ark rested, to the Plain of *Shinaar*, which (if we place *Ararat* beyond *Bactria*, North to *India*, according to the most received Opinion) was, at least, twelve hundred Miles; these Travellers, no doubt, met with a great many Rivers in their Way, and those Rivers they probably pass'd in hollow Pieces of Timber, no better, perhaps, at first, than so many Troughs, or in a sort of Baskets cover'd with raw Hides; it being natural to imagine they made use of those Things which most easily occur'd to the Invention. In the same manner they dispersed themselves from

from *Shinaar* into the other Parts of the Continent. But what Vessels they built when they came to the Sea, no History describes, and therefore it would be a Folly to pretend to any Knowledge of them; that they were small, ill rigg'd, and only durst creep along the Shores, is beyond all dispute, if we consider that many succeeding Ages were no better furnish'd, notwithstanding the Pains they took to improve the Art of Navigation, and to correct, from time to time, the Defects they found in their Shipping.

From what has been said, it will be no difficult Matter to adjust the contradictory Claims of different Nations to the Invention of this noble Art; for, as we have plainly proved it either derived from the *Antediluvians*, or immediately taught by God to *Noah*, who taught it to all his Sons; their Titles seem of equal Antiquity as to the Invention, but who were the Improvers of it is a Question not so easy to determine.

Cicero says, that the *Phœnicians* were the first Navigators, and brought Merchandize into *Greece*; and *Pliny* attributes the Invention of Shipping and Sea Battles to them. *Herodotus* also tells us, that the *Phœnicians* coming from the *Red Sea*, made very long Voyages, and carry'd their Wares into many Places, and particularly to *Argos*, a famous City in *Greece*. *Pomponius Mela* and *Diodorus Siculus* likewise agree in attributing the Invention of Navigation to them; and *Bochart* assures us, that the *Sidonians* first learn'd Astronomy and Arithmetick (I suppose he means some kind of Calculation or Estimation of the Ship's Way)

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from their nocturnal Navigations; and it is certain these Arts came originally from them.

Prima rates ventis credere docta Tyros.

Tibul. El. 7.

The hardy *Tyrians*, first of Human Kind,
Learn'd, in slight Barks, to trust the faith-
less Wind.

If we may credit *Strabo*, the *Phœnicians* sail'd out of the *Straits*, and built Cities in *Africk*, before the *Greeks* knew any thing of Shipping, and before the Siege of *Troy*. *Scheffer*, in his excellent Book *de Militia Navali*, thinks that the *Indian Sea* was very early known to the *Phœnicians*; because there is mention made in the Book of *Job*, Chap. xxviii. 16. of the Gold of *Ophir*; but, tho' this is not conclusive; since, as *Bochart* has proved, there were two *Ophirs*, one in *India*, which was the *Taprobana* of the Ancients, now *Ceylon*, and the other in *Arabia*; of which latter 'tis probable *Job* may speak. Yet 'tis likely enough that the *Phœnicians* might try the *Indian Ocean* as early as that; for having Ships in the *Red Sea*, (which *Scheffer* thinks was denominated *Puniceum*, or *Phœnicium*, from the *Phœni*, or *Phœnices*) they might easily venture out into the *Indian Sea*. 'Tis certain they were eminent very early for their Skill in Navigation; whether it be true or not, which *Agatharchides* and *Philostratus* affirm, that *Erythras*, the Founder of the *Phœnicians*, (and from whom probably the

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Red Sea was call'd *Mare Erythraum*) was very famous for his Naval Power.

But nothing can give us a more just and grand Idea of the Height to which this People carry'd Navigation, than the Character given them by the Prophet *Ezekiel*, Chap. xxvii. where, speaking of *Tyre*, he says, "It is situate
"at the Entrance of the Sea, is a Merchant for
"many Isles, its Ship-boards are of Fir-trees of
"Senir, their Masts of Cedars, their Oars of
"Oak of *Basban*, their Benches of Ivory, and
"their Sails of fine embroider'd Linnen." In which manner he goes on through most of the Chapter, extolling its Ships, Pilots, Mariners, Merchants, and all Things belonging to them.

Now, as this is the undeniable Oracle of Scripture, it would be a sufficient Proof of their Excellence in this Art, had we no other; but, on the contrary, all Histories are full of their extraordinary Expeditions.

One of the most early was to the Coast of *Africk*, where they founded the powerful City of *Carthage*, which contended so long with *Rome* for the Sovereignty of the World. Thence they extended their Dominions into *Spain*; and, not satisfy'd with that, coasted it round, still pursuing their Discoveries along the Coasts of *France*, and even into this Island of *Great Britain*, where they afterwards had a settled Trade for Tin, and such other Commodities as the Country then afforded, as may be seen at large in *Procopius*, *Strabo*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and many other ancient Authors.

But notwithstanding the *Phœnicians* were great Improvers of Navigation, insomuch, that they soon came to excel all the World in

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that Particular, yet the Honour of being the first that cultivated this Art, is warmly disputed with them by many Nations, and especially by the *Egyptians*.

Euripides, in his *Troas*, *Act. 1.* expressly calls Shipping an *Egyptian* Art; and to *Neptune* is ascribed the first Building of Ships with sharp Stems, or Heads shod with Iron or Brass, to run against other Ships, and split them, and with Towers for Men to fight from, when they came to lie aboard each other. Now this *Neptune* was an *Egyptian*, and the Father of that *Belus* who, during the Oppression of the *Israelites* in *Egypt*, went and settled at *Babylon*, where he gave himself to the Study of Astronomy, and built the Tower call'd after his Name, in Imitation of the *Egyptian* Pyramid.

This Account is also confirm'd by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who tells us, that the first Ship was built by the *Lybian Atlas*; for *Atlas* is no other than *Neptune*, who, after the Conquest of *Egypt* by the *Pastors*, seems to have left his Country, and to have retired into *Ethiopia*, where, as *Herodotus* informs us, he received Divine Honours after his Death. But, either because he died not in *Egypt*, or because he lived in those troublesome Times, when the Natives of *Egypt* were under a foreign Power, his Name was not recorded amongst the great and eminent *Egyptian* Ancients; so that, although in After-ages he was worshipped in many foreign Countries, yet he never was reputed a Deity by the *Egyptians*.

That Ships were invented about this Time, appears likewise from what is recorded of

Danaus, who was Cotemporary with *Belus*, that he made the first Ship, and fled with it from *Egypt* into *Greece*; his Ship, says *Pliny*, was call'd the first Ship, because till his Time Men used only smaller Boats or Vessels, such Ships as this of *Danaus* being new Things in those Days. Wherefore, to give these Authorities their due Weight, it seems highly probable, not only that Shipping was invented at this Time, but that it was also invented in *Egypt*, and taught by the *Egyptians* to other Nations, and, amongst the rest, to the *Phœnicians*; for we do not read that these last, nor indeed any other People, were at all remarkable for their Shipping at this early Period.

The Application of Astronomy to Navigation, or the Science of Sailing by the Stars, seems also derived from the same Source, and to have been invented by the *Egyptians*, perhaps by *Atlas* himself; nor will this appear altogether groundless, if we consider his vast Character amongst the Ancients as an Astronomer, and the Fable of his bearing the Heavens upon his Back.

'Tis true, *Diodorus Siculus* relates, that *Semiramis* Queen of *Babylon*, almost five hundred Years before the Time of *Atlas* or *Neptune*, built a Fleet of no less than two thousand Sail, on the Coasts of *Cyprus*, *Syria*, and *Phœnicia*, which she had transported on Carriages and Camels Backs to the River *Indus*, where they fought and defeated the Fleet of *Scaurobates* or *Starobates* King of *India*, consisting of four thousand Boats made of Cane. But as that Author has given us no particular Description of

of these Vessels of *Semiramis*, we have no Reason to believe them better built than those of her Adversary, nor indeed, in any respect, preferable to the Canoes of the present *Indians*.

However, notwithstanding the Merit of these first and fundamental Improvements, Navigation seems entirely to belong to the *Egyptians*, from whom the *Phœnicians* and other Nations received them, yet it must be acknowledged, that the *Phœnicians* soon outstrip'd their Masters, and made such farther Advances in this useful Science, as to entitle themselves to an Honour, on this Account, superior to every thing but the Antiquity of a first Invention.

What Time the *Phœnicians* received these Improvements is a Question not easy to decide; but, if concurrent Circumstances may be allow'd any degree of Proof, we may venture to affirm, it was not many Years after the Invention of them by *Neptune* or *Atlas*; for about the same time that *Neptune* retired from the Calamities of his Country into *Lybia*, *Agenor*, who was also a noble *Egyptian*, and the Father of *Cadmus*, left *Egypt* on the same Motive, and pass'd with a Colony into *Phœnicia*, where he settled himself and his Followers, and became King over those Parts.

It was also probably about this Time that the *Greeks* were made acquainted with these Discoveries; for *Neptune* and *Agenor* were not the only Persons who fled from the Tyranny of the *Pastors*, and thought *Egypt*, though their native Country, unworthy the Abode of free and generous Spirits, while under such a cruel Dominion.

Dominion. *Cecrops*, *Erichonius*, and *Lelex*, the two first *Egyptians* of Quality, and the last an oppress'd *Israelite*, left *Egypt* on the same Occasion, and led Colonies into *Greece*; where, after various Fortunes, *Cecrops* obtain'd the Kingdom of *Attica*, and *Lelex* that of *Luconia*.

In confirmation of this Account, we read of no Figure made by the *Greeks* in Navigation, before this Period; but, soon after, we hear of a considerable Fleet kept by *Minos* King of *Crete*, to scour the Seas of Pyrates. To which may be added the Adventure of his Father *Asterius*, (if *Asterius* was not the Father of an elder *Minos*) who stole away *Europa*, the Daughter of *Agenor* King of *Phœnicia*, in a Ship whose Ensign was a Bull; which occasion'd the Fable of *Jupiter's* bearing her over the *Hellepont* in the Shape of that Animal.

Nor must we forget the celebrated Story of his Servant *Dædalus*, who invented, or at least improved the Use of Sails; by which means he made such Speed from the Resentment and Pursuit of his Master, as to give Rise to the Fable of his making himself Wings, with which he flew from *Crete* to *Sardinia*, and thence into *Italy*; in which Voyage his Son *Icarus*, who accompany'd him in another Ship, neglecting his Father's Directions, split upon the Rocks, and was drown'd, leaving his Name to the Sea where he perish'd.

The Fable of *Pegasus*, the flying Horse of *Bellerophon*, had also a like Original, and arose from the Ship he sail'd in, being call'd by that Name; agreeable to which, we find *Homer* and others, many Ages after, call a Ship a Horse. This happen'd indeed before the Time
of

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of *Minos* and *Dædalus*, but late enough for our Purpose. The Expedition of *Perseus* by Sea against *Medusa* in *Africa* must be placed about the same Date.

The next and most famous Voyage we hear of amongst the *Greeks* was that of the *Argonauts*, so call'd from their Ship *Argo*, or, as *Boehart* chuses to write it, *Arco*, which, in the *Phœnician* Language, signifies *long*, and was a Name given it from its being the first long Ship built by the *Greeks*, who learned the Model from the *Phœnicians*, and therefore call'd it by their Name; whereas all the Vessels used by the *Greeks*, before that Time, were round.

This Ship, or rather Galley, we are told, had fifty Oars, that is, twenty-five on each Side, and therefore must be fifty Cubits in Length. No doubt it was better built and contrived than any had been before, though far from being perfect; for it had but one Man to an Oar, and only on Bank or Tire of Oars. The *Heroes* or *Argonauts* themselves were the Rowers; and it must be own'd very indifferent ones, if they were all alike; and we may believe the Poet *Serenus*, who ridicules *Hercules* for his awkward Rowing in this Ship, calling him *Semiremex*, or the *Half-rower*.

We next come to the celebrated *Æra* of the *Trojan War*, when the *Greeks* fitted out a Fleet for that Expedition, of no less than one thousand one hundred and forty Sail. But they seem to have made no farther Improvement in their Shipping; for we still find them creeping along the Shores, without so much as once daring to venture out of the Sight of Land.

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That Coasting was the only Method of Sailing in these early Times, also appears from the Account we have, in *Homer* and *Virgil*, of the tedious Voyages of *Ulysses* and *Æneas*; which sufficiently shew us the imperfect State of Navigation at that Period.

But at length the *Greeks* not only rival'd, but even excell'd the *Phœnicians* in this Art; for we often find them, though vastly inferior in Number, gaining glorious Victories over the *Persians*, whose Fleets were all managed by *Phœnicians*. A memorable Instance of this is the famous Battle of *Salamis*; where the Confederate *Greeks*, whose whole Force consisted of no more than three hundred and eighty Ships, defeated the *Persian* Navy, composed of one thousand three hundred, with inconsiderable Loss to themselves, and incredible Hurt to their Enemies.

After that, the *Athenian* Fleet, commanded by *Cimon*, lorded it along the Coasts of *Asia*; where closely pursuing *Titraustes* the *Persian* Admiral, he obliged him to run his Ships aground, of which he took two hundred, besides those that perish'd on the Rocks; and not so satisfy'd, *Cimon* proceeded to *Hydrope*, where he destroy'd seventy Sail, which were the peculiar Squadron of the *Phœnicians*. For the Particulars of these Actions, see *Thucydides*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Plutarch* in the Lives of *Themistocles*, *Aristides*, and *Cimon*.

But the *Greeks* soon revenged these Slaughters on themselves; for, proud of Victory, and enrich'd with the Spoils of the *Persians*, they grew envious and jealous of each other, and rashly broke that Bond of Union which had preserved

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preserved them against the common Enemy. Hence follow'd the War betwixt the *Athenians*, *Lacedemonians*, &c. when those little States confederating one against another, set out many numerous Fleets, and strove for the Sovereignty of the Sea, till having sufficiently weaken'd themselves, they at length fell a Prey to the Intrigues of the *Macedonians*.

It was under the Empire of these last, that the *Phœnician* Glory came to an End. *Tyre*, whose immense Riches and Power are represented in such lofty Terms, both in sacred and prophane Authors, being destroy'd by *Alexander* the Great, who transfer'd its Navigation and Commerce to *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, a new City which he had built, admirably situated for the Purpose, and which he proposed for the Capital of *Asia*.

But before we dismiss the *Phœnicians*, we must not forget, for the Honour of that People, that they were the first Inventors of Fire-Ships; for we read in *Quintus Curtius*, that at the Siege of *Tyre* by *Alexander*, when a Mole was carrying on by that Prince to join the City to the Continent, the Inhabitants having loaded a large Ship heavily a-stern with Sand and Stones, to the end the Head might rise high above the Water, and prepared it for the Purpose with combustible Matter, they drove it violently, with Sails and Oars, against the Mole, where they set it on fire, the Seamen who guided it escaping in their Boats. The Mole being, in a great measure, made of Wood, with wooden Towers, was, by this Device, utterly destroy'd.

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We have also, in the same Author, an Account of *Alexander's* sailing down the River *Indus*, to the *Indian* Ocean. As *Curtius* tells the Story, it reflects no great Credit on the Navigation of that Age; for he relates, that not only the Landmen, but even the Sailors, were all astonish'd, and besides themselves, at the Ebbing and Flowing of the River. But he must certainly be mistaken in this Particular; *Alexander* had as able Seamen aboard his Fleet, as any the World at that Time produced; and Navigation had been too long practis'd, and too far extended, for so constant and common a Phenomenon to excite the least degree of Wonder, in those who were ever so little vers'd in Sea Affairs. Wherefore, this Astonishment, if any such thing really happen'd, must have proceeded, not from the Novelty of the Matter of Fact, but their Ignorance of its Cause, or rather must have belong'd wholly to the Landmen.

It was the same Conqueror who sent his Admiral *Nearchus* with Orders to coast along the Ocean, as far as possible, and return to him with an Account of what he should discover. Accordingly *Nearchus* keeping along the *Indian* and *Persian* Shores, and entering the *Persian* Gulph, returned to him up the River *Euphrates*; which, at that Time, was look'd upon as a wonderful Discovery, and such a Master-piece of Sailing, that *Alexander* rewarded his Admiral with a Crown of Gold. But, as a particular Narration of this Voyage will be inserted in its proper Place, we shall dismiss the Subject at present, and proceed to examine the State of Navigation under the
Romans,

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Romans, who succeeded the *Greeks* in Arts, as well as Empire.

The *Romans*, for some Ages, seem to have minded the Business of War too much, to pay any Attention to maritime Affairs. Commerce was least in the Thoughts of that martial People: Nor do we hear of any Attempt made by them to improve their Shipping, till their Quarrels with the *Carthaginians* shew'd them the Necessity of cultivating an Art, for which their Enemies were so eminent, and which was the very Foundation of a Power their Safety, as well as Ambition, made them desirous to humble.

The *Carthaginians* were then in the Height of their Glory, having already by their Fleets made themselves Masters of the greatest Part of *Spain*, the Coast of *Africk*, and many Islands in the *Mediterranean*; and were now intent upon the Conquest of *Sicily*, at that time divided into Factions. As the *Romans* were equally interested to prevent the Island's falling into their Hands, this gave occasion to these two mighty Cities to try their Strength. The Pretence was the Protection of their Allies, but the real Motives a mutual Thirst after Sovereignty, and the Impatience of a Rivalship in Empire.

At this important Juncture, we find the *Romans* so unskill'd in Shipping, that they did not so much as know how to build a Galley, till the *Carthaginians*, cruizing on the Coast of *Italy*, as *Polybius* tells us, one of their *Quinquereme* Gallies happen'd to fall into the Hands of the *Romans*, who, by that Model built an hundred of the same sort, and twenty

Triremes. We are farther inform'd, that whilst these Gallies were building, they exercised the Seamen in rowing upon the dry Shore, making them sit in Ranks, as if they were aboard, with Oars in their Hands, and an Officer in the middle, who, by several Signs, instructed them in what Manner they should all at once dip their Oars, and recover them out of the Water.

When this Fleet was launch'd, the *Romans* finding the Gallies not artfully built, but sluggish and unweildy, they contrived an Engine to grapple fast with the Enemy at the first Onset; that so they might immediately come to handy Strokes, at which they knew themselves superior, and, at the same time, render useless the Swiftnes of the *Carthaginian* Gallies and Experience of their Mariners.

This Engine the *Romans* call'd *Corvus*; it consisted of a large Piece of Timber, set upright on the Prow of the Vessel, round which was a Stage of Boards of several Ascents well fastned with Iron, and at the Ends two massive Irons sharp-pointed: The whole could be hoisted or lower'd, at pleasure, by a Pully at the Top of the upright Timber. This Engine they hoisted to the Top, when the Enemy drew near, and when they came to encounter Ship to Ship, they let it run violently down into the Enemy's Vessel, which it grappled so fast by its own Weight, that there was no breaking loose; and if the Attack happen'd on the Bow, the Men went two and two down into the Enemy's Vessel, by means of the afore-mention'd Stairs. All which Particulars may be seen more fully described in *Polybius*.

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It was by the Help of these Engines, that *Duillius* the Roman Admiral overthrew *Hannibal* the Carthaginian, tho' superior to him in Number of Vessels and Experience in Sea Matters, taking his own *Septireme*, and fifty other Vessels, with a great Slaughter of his Men, *Hannibal* himself hardly escaping in his Boat. This happen'd in the Year of Rome 493. And in 497, *M. Atillius Regulus* and *L. Manlius Volsô*, Consuls, commanded another Fleet, in which were above 140000 Men; the Carthaginians having in their Fleet 150000 under the Conduct of *Hamilcar*, who was entirely defeated, fifty of his Ships being taken, and sixty-four sunk.

But here Fortune began to shew her natural Inconstancy; for in the Year 499, the Romans having set out a Fleet of 300 *Quinqueremes*, lost 140 by Storms; which made them resolve to lay aside all naval Enterprizes, and to keep only seventy Sail of Ships to serve as Transports; till in the Year 503, perceiving their Affairs in *Sicily* decline, and the Carthaginians absolute Masters at Sea, they again set out 200 Sail, and the following Year received a terrible Overthrow, with the Loss of ninety-three Gallies.

However, these Misfortunes only served to animate their Courage, which, *Antæus*-like, acquired new Strength from every Fall. They were now impatient to put an End to the War, and, for that Purpose, again fitted out 200 *Quinqueremes*, built by the Model of a *Rhodian* they had just before taken, and with these gave the Carthaginians such a fatal Defeat, as they were never after able to recover,
and

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and which obliged them to accept such Conditions as the Victors pleased to impose.

The *Romans*, having thus obtain'd the Sovereignty of the Sea, supported it as long as the Splendor of their Empire continued; but, as they were a People who despised Commerce, and were always intent on some new Conquest, they were, in general, too hotly engaged on Land, to think of improving Navigation by long Voyages; they were contented with the Science as they found it; like every thing else, it was the Servant of their Ambition, and its chief Use amongst them seems to have been the transporting them from one Enemy to another.

Agreeable to this, we have not the least Account of their once attempting to make any new Discoveries, or that they ever sail'd beyond the Bounds of what the *Phœnicians* had before made known; their greatest Voyage being that mention'd in the sixth Book of *Pliny*, which was only from *Egypt* to *India*, a Thing frequently perform'd by the *Phœnicians* long before, and afterwards by the *Carthaginians*; and therefore nothing new or strange. For *Herodotus* expressly tells us, that a Fleet of *Phœnicians* being sent down the *Red Sea*, upon Discoveries, by *Necho* King of *Egypt*, set forth in the Autumn, and sailing Southward, till they had the Sun at Noon-tide upon their Starboard, (that is, having cross'd the *Æquinoctial* and the Southern Tropick) after a long Navigation, directed their Course to the North, and, in the Space of three Years, encompass'd all *Africk*, returning to *Egypt* through the *Gaditan Straights*. And *Pliny* and others affirm,

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affirm, that *Hunno*, a noble *Carthaginian*, being sent to discover Southward, sail'd quite round *Africk* into the *Red Sea*, returning home the same Way he set out; and that he kept a regular Journal during the whole Voyage. To which we may add, the celebrated Voyages made by the *Phœnicians*, in the time of *Solomon*, to *Ophir*; since most learned Men agree, that *Ophir* was no other than the *Tabrobana* of the Ancients, now call'd *Ceylon* in the *East-Indies*.

We have already observed, that after the Destruction of *Tyre* by *Alexander* the Great, its Navigation and Commerce were transfer'd, by the Conqueror, to *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, returning, by that means, like a River after many Wanderings, to their original Source: And it appears they liked none better than their native Soil; for here they continued to flourish, under the Protection of the *Ptolomys*, all the Time of the Disputes betwixt *Rome* and *Carthage*, and during the Civil Wars which succeeded in the *Roman* State. But when at length that vast Empire became united under one Head, in the Person of *Augustus* *Cæsar*, and *Egypt* was made a *Roman* Province, *Alexandria* arrived at still a higher Pitch of Glory, becoming the chief Port in the World, and, as a City, inferior only to *Rome*; the Magazines of that Capital of the Universe being wholly supply'd with Merchandizes from the Capital of *Egypt*.

In this State remain'd *Alexandria* during the Government of the *Romans*, not only before, but after the Division made by *Constantine*, when it became a Member of the Eastern Empire; but at length itself underwent the Fate
of

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of *Tyre* and *Carthage*, being surprized by the *Saracens*, who, in the Reign of *Heraclius*, overspread all the Northern Coasts of *Africa*. From them it pass'd to the *Turks*, and has ever since continued in a languishing State, tho' it is still the principal Port for the Christian Merchants trading to the *Levant*.

The Western Empire had already been overwhelm'd by an Inundation of *Goths*, *Vandals*, and other barbarous Invaders; and this Fall of the *Roman* Greatness drew along with it not only that of polite Learning, but also that of Navigation, and every useful Art; the Barbarians, who ruin'd it, contenting themselves with the Prey they found treasured up for them by the Industry of the former Possessors.

But some time after, when these Nations became well settled in their new Dominions, as the *Franks* in *Gaul*; the *Goths* in *Spain*; and the *Lombards* and others in *Italy*; they began to be sensible of the Want of Navigation and Commerce, and to enquire after the Methods of cultivating them from the People they had subdued; and this with so much Application, that they soon made considerable Advances in both.

It is not very clear which of the *European* Nations, after the Settlement of these new Comers, first attempted the Revival of Navigation. Some give the Honour of it to the *French*; but, in general, it is thought more justly to belong to the *Italians*, who are commonly look'd upon as the Restorers of this, as well as of the polite Arts, which had been
banish'd

banish'd together, from the Time the Empire was torn asunder.

It is the People of *Italy* then, and particularly those of *Venice* and *Genoa*, who have the Glory of this Restoration; and it is to their commodious Situation, they in a great measure owe this Advantage.

The *Genoese* having recover'd their Liberties, amidst the Confusions which follow'd the Dissolution of the *Roman* Government, seem to have apply'd themselves to Navigation soon after. The Rise of the Naval Power of *Venice* is as follows.

When *Italy* was ravaged by *Alaric* King of the *Goths*, and afterwards by *Attila* King of the *Huns*, the *Veneti*, a People inhabiting along the Coasts of the Gulph, retired to a Number of marshy Islands in the Bottom of the *Adriatic*. These were separated only by narrow Channels, but those well screen'd, and almost inaccessible; and served at that Time for the Residence of some poor Fishermen, who supported themselves by a little Trade of Fish and Salt, which they found in some of these Islands.

These new Inhabitants, not considering them at first as their fix'd Abode, did not immediately think of composing any Body Politic; but each of the seventy-two Islands of this little Archipelago continued for some time under its several Master, making each a distinct Common-wealth. But when their Commerce was become considerable enough to give Jealousy to their Neighbours, they began, for their own Safety, to think of uniting into a Body: And it was this Union, first begun in the sixth Century, but not compleated till the

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eighth,

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eighth, that laid the sure Foundation of the future Grandeur of the State of *Venice*.

From the Time of this Union, their Fleets of Merchant-men were sent to all Parts of the *Mediterranean*; and at length to those of *Egypt*, particularly to *Cairo*, a new City, built by the *Saracen* Princes on the Eastern Banks of the *Nile*, where they traded for their Spices, and other Products of the *Indies*, which they afterwards sold to the rest of *Europe*, at their own Prices.

In this indeed the *Genoese* (who, as we before observed, apply'd themselves to Navigation about the same time) were their long and dangerous Rivals, disputing with them the Sovereignty of the Sea, and sharing with them the Trade of *Egypt*, and other Parts both of the East and West. But towards the End of the fourteenth Century, the fatal Battle of *Chioza* ended the noble Strife: The *Genoese*, who till then had usually the Advantage, having now lost all, and the *Venetians* almost become desperate, at one happy Blow, beyond all Expectation, secured to themselves the Empire of the Sea, and Superiority in Commerce.

After this *Venice* flourish'd for some Years, like a second *Tyre*, unrival'd Queen of the Sea; carrying on her Commerce, Navigation, and Conquests, till the famous League of *Cambray* in 1508, when a Number of jealous Princes conspired her Ruin, and in some measure effected it. But the Discovery made by the *Portuguese* of a Passage by Sea to the *East-Indies*, by which means she lost that valuable Trade, and the Improvement of Navigation in
different

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different Nations, which immediately succeeded, contributed more than any thing else, to reduce her to the humble State she has since remain'd in.

We must not forget, that whilst Navigation was thus making a Figure in the Southern Parts of *Europe*, a new Society of Merchants was form'd in the North, which not only carry'd Commerce to the greatest Perfection it was capable of, till the Discovery of the *East* and *West-Indies*, but also form'd a new Scheme of Laws for the Regulation thereof, which still obtain under the Name of *Uses and Customs of the Sea*. This Society is the famous League of the *Hans Towns*, commonly supposed to have begun about the Year 1164.

Having thus traced Navigation from its Original, we have at length the Pleasure to bring it down to its most glorious, as well as most happy Period; *the Discovery of the Properties of the Loadstone*, which succeeded about the middle of the thirteenth Century; and to which the World is indebted, not only for the Discovery of new Countries, but even of new Sciences, at least for the Improvement of every kind of natural Knowledge.

Before this, the most experienced Pilots had no other Method to sail than that of coasting, in which the Rocks and Mountains were their Guides by Day, and the Stars by Night. Nothing but a Tempest could force them to leave the Shore; and so far were they from daring to venture on a rough Sea, that it was in the Power of every Wind to disappoint a Voyage, and keep them Prisoners for whole Months together in their own Ports.

But since this wonderful Invention, these Difficulties are all vanish'd; we have now the full Command of the Ocean, and can traverse from Pole to Pole, through all its vast Dimensions, without Fear of losing ourselves, or our intended Harbour; though the Stars involved in Clouds, deny their Light and Direction, and though the Winds and Waves conspire to drive us from our Course, yet, by the Help of this excellent Guide, we still know where we are, and how to extricate ourselves from every Labyrinth.

That the attractive Power of the * Magnet was known to the Ancients is certain, being mention'd both by *Plato* and *Euripides*, who call it the *Herculean Stone*, because it commands Iron which subdues every thing else. *Aristotle* and *Pliny* also take Notice of it, and *Thales*, who lived before any of them, surprized with so constant an Effect, gave it a Soul. But then they had no Notion of its directive Power, whereby it disposes its Poles along the Meridian of every Place, and occasions Needles, Pieces of Iron, &c. touch'd with it, to point nearly North and South; the Knowledge of

* The Magnet is so call'd from *Magnesia*, a Part of the ancient *Lydia*, where it is said to have been first found. Tho' others derive the Word from a Shepherd named *Magnes*, who first discover'd it with the Iron of his Crook on Mount *Ida*.

It is usually found in Iron Mines, and sometimes in large Pieces, half Magnet half Iron. Its Colour differs according to the Country it is brought from. *Norman* says, the best comes from *China* and *Bengal*, which are of an irony or sanguine Hue; those of *Arabia* are reddish; those of *Macedonia* blackish; and those of *Hungary*, *Germany*, *England*, &c. of the Colour of unwrought Iron. Its Figure and Bulk are uncertain, there being found of all Sizes.

this

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this being an Honour reserved for later Ages.

The Person usually supposed to have made the Discovery is *Flavio de Gioia*, a *Neopolitan*, who, about the Year 1302, made at *Melphis* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, the first * Compass that ever was seen; and hence, it is said, the Territory of *Principato*, where he was born, still bears a Compass for its Arms.

But the *French* will by no means acquiesce in this Decision, they claim the Invention themselves, and alledge that even in the twelfth Century the Needle was in Use among them

* The Compass consists of a Box, which includes a magnetical Needle, that always turns to the North, or nearly to it.

In the Middle of the Box is fitted a perpendicular Pivot, which bears a Card or Pasteboard, on whose upper Surface are described several concentric Circles; the outmost of which is divided into 360 Degrees, the other into 32 Points, answering to the 32 Winds.

In the Centre of this Card is fitted a Brass Cone or Cap, a little concave, which plays at liberty on the Pivot; and along in the Thickness of the Card, is fitted the Needle, which is cover'd over with a Glass, that its Motions may be observed; the whole is included in another Box; where it is sustain'd by Brass Hoops, to keep the Needle Horizontal.

The Needle, which is, as it were, the Soul of the Compass, is made of a thin Plate of Steel in form of a Lozenge; the Middle being cut out, so as to leave nothing but the Extremities and an Axis in the Middle, to which the Cap is fitted.

Its Use is obvious; for, the Course a Ship is to sail in, being known by the Chart, and the Compass so placed, as that the two parallel Sides of the Square be disposed according to the Length of the Ship, *i. e.* parallel to a Line drawn from the Head to the Stern; the Rudder is to be directed accordingly; *viz.* if the Course be found on the Chart between the South-West and South-South-West; *i. e.* South-West $\frac{1}{4}$ to the South; turn the Stern so as that a Line from the South-West, $\frac{1}{4}$ South, exactly answer the Mark on the Middle of the Side of the Box.

for

for regulating their Navigation; and this they endeavour to prove from some Verses of *Guyot de Provence*, an old *French* Poet, who lived about that Time, where exprefs mention is made of the Loadstone and Compass, and their Use in Navigation obliquely hinted at; they also insist very much upon the *Flower-de-luce*, with which all Nations distinguish the North Point of the Compass, and would have that pass for an infallible Mark of their copying after a *French* Original.

Others say, that *Marcus Paulus* a *Venetian*, having made a Journey to *China*, brought back the Invention with him about the Year 1260; and it must be own'd this Conjecture is the more probable, because at first all the *Europeans* used the Compass in the same manner as the *Chinese* still do; that is, they let it float on a little Piece of Cork, instead of suspending it on a Pivot. The *Chinese* tell us, it was found out by their Emperor *Chiningus*, a celebrated Astrologer, 1120 Years before Christ.

The Moors seem to have received this Knowledge about the same time, tho' whether from the *Chinese* or *Europeans*, is a Question; for the *Portuguese*, at their first Entrance into the *Indian* Seas, found Compasses and Quadrants every where in common Use among them. And *Vertomannus* tells us, that travelling with the same People, over the *Arabian* Deserts, to *Mecha*, he observed them to steer over that vast sandy Ocean by help of the Compass.

The Compass being thus got amongst the *Europeans*, their natural Industry taught them by degrees to make considerable Improvements. In the Year 1500, the Variation of the Magnet,
or

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or its Declination from the Pole, was first discover'd by *Sebastian Cabot*, a *Venetian*; and the Variation of that Variation by *Mr. Gellibrand*, an *Englishman*, about the Year 1625.

Lastly, the Dip or Inclination of the Needle, when at Liberty to play vertically, to a Point beneath the Horizon, was first found out by another of our Countrymen, *Mr. R. Norman*, a Compass-maker at *Wapping*, about the Year 1576.

Having given the Reader this short Account of the Discovery of the Magnet, we shall next, as the natural Order of our Work demands, entertain him with the wonderful Properties of this Stone, as they have been observed by the Honourable *Mr. Boyle*, *Dr. Power*, *Mr. Whiston*, and others; after which we shall resume our History of Navigation and Commerce, and deduce it to the present Times.

A Digression concerning the Properties of the MAGNET.

1. In every *Magnet* there are two Poles, one whereof points Northward, the other Southward; and if the *Magnet* be divided into ever so many Pieces, the two Poles will be found in each Piece.

2. These Poles, in different Parts of the Globe, are differently inclined towards a Point under the Horizon.

3. These Poles, tho' contrary to one another, do help mutually towards the *Magnet's* Attraction and Suspension of Iron.

4. If two *Magnets* be Spherical, one will turn or conform itself to the other, so as either
of

of them would do to the Earth; and after they have so conform'd or turn'd themselves, they endeavour to approach or join each other; but if placed in a contrary Position, they avoid each other.

5. If a *Magnet* be cut through the Axis, the Parts or Segments of the Stone, which before were join'd, will now avoid and fly each other.

6. If the *Magnet* be cut by a Section perpendicular to its Axis, the two Points, which before were conjoin'd, will become contrary Poles; one in one, the other in the other Segment.

7. Iron receives Virtue from the *Magnet*, by Application to it, or barely from an Approach near it, though it do not touch it; and the Iron receives this Virtue variously, according to the Parts of the Stone it is made to touch, or even approach to.

8. If an oblong Piece of Iron be any how apply'd to the Stone, it receives Virtue from it, only as to its Length.

9. The *Magnet* loses none of its own Virtue by communicating any to the Iron; and this Virtue it can communicate to the Iron very speedily; tho' the longer the Iron touches or joins the Stone, the longer will its communicated Virtue hold; and a better *Magnet* will communicate more of it, and sooner, than one not so good.

10. Steel receives Virtue from the *Magnet* better than Iron.

11. A Needle touch'd by a *Magnet*, will turn its Ends the same way towards the Poles of the World, as the *Magnet* itself does.

12. Neither

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12. Neither *Loadstone* nor Needles touch'd by it do conform their Poles exactly to those of the World, but have usually some Variation from them: And this Variation is different in divers Places, and at divers Times in the same Place.

13. A *Loadstone* will take up much more Iron when arm'd or cap'd than it can alone. And though an Iron Ring or Key be suspended by the *Loadstone*, yet the *Magnetical* Particles do not hinder that Ring or Key from turning round any way, either to the right Hand or left.

14. The Force of a *Loadstone* may be variously increased or lessen'd by the various Application of Iron, or another *Loadstone* to it.

15. A strong *Magnet* at the least Distance from a lesser or weaker, cannot draw to it a Peice of Iron adhering actually to such lesser or weaker Stone; but if it come to touch it, it can draw it from the other: But a weaker *Magnet*, or even a little Piece of Iron, can draw away or separate a Piece of Iron contiguous to a greater or stronger *Loadstone*.

16. In these Northern Parts of the World, the South Pole of a *Loadstone* will raise up more Iron than the North Pole.

17. A Plate of Iron only, but no other Body interposed, can impede the Operation of the *Loadstone*, either as to its attractive or directive Quality. Mr. BOYLE found it true in Glasses seal'd hermetically; and Glass is a Body as impervious as most are to any Effluvia.

18. The Power or Virtue of a *Loadstone* may be impair'd by lying long in a wrong Position,

as also by Rust, Wet, &c. and may be quite destroy'd by Fire.

19. A Piece of Iron Wire well touch'd, will, upon being bent round in a Ring, or coyl'd round on a Stick, &c. generally, quite lose its directive Virtue; but always have it much diminish'd: And yet if the whole Length of the Wire were not entirely bent, so that the Ends of it, though but for the Length of One Tenth of an Inch, were left strait, the Virtue will not be destroy'd in those Parts; though it will in all the rest. This was first observed by GRIMALDI and DE LA HIRE; and is confirm'd by the Experiments of Mr. DERHAM; who adds further, that though coyling or bending the Wire as above, would always destroy its Virtue by Day, yet it would not do it in the Evening.

20. The Sphere of the Activity of *Magnets* is greater and less at different Times; in particular, that reserveyed in the Repository of the ROYAL SOCIETY will keep a Key or other Body suspended to another, sometimes at the Height of eight or ten Feet; and at others, not above four Feet. To which we may add, that the Variation of the *Magnetical* Needle from the Meridian, varies at various Times of the Day; as appears from some new Experiments of Mr. GRAHAM.

21. By twisting a Piece of Wire touch'd with a *Magnet*, its Virtue is exceedingly diminish'd, and sometimes so disorder'd and confus'd, that in some Parts it will attract, and in others repel; and even in some Places, one side of the Wire seems to be attracted, and the other

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Side repell'd by one and the same Pole of the Stone.

22. A Piece of Wire that has been touch'd, being split or cleft into two, the Poles are sometimes changed; as in a cleft *Magnet*; the North becoming the South, and the South the North: And yet sometimes one half of the Wire will retain its former Poles, and the other half have them changed, to which it may be added, that laying one or the other Side of the Half uppermost, causes a great Alteration in its Tendency, or Aversion to the Poles of the *Magnet*.

23. A Wire being touch'd from End to End with the same Pole of the *Magnet*, the End whereat you begin will always turn contrary to the Pole which touch'd it: If it be again touch'd the same way with the other Pole of the *Magnet*, it will then be turn'd the contrary Way.

24. If a Piece of Wire be touch'd in the Middle with only one Pole of the *Magnet*, without moving it backwards or forwards; in that Place will be the Pole of the Wire, and the two Ends will be the other Pole.

25. If a *Magnet* be heated red hot, and again cool'd either with its South Pole towards the North in an horizontal Position, or with its South Pole downwards in a perpendicular Position, its Poles will be changed.

26. Mr. BOYLE (to whom we are indebted for the following *Magnetical* Phænomena) found he could presently change the Poles of a small Fragment of a *Lodestone*, by applying them to the opposite vigorous ones of a large *Magnet*.

27. Hard Iron Tools well temper'd, when heated by a brisk Attrition, as filing, turning, &c. will, while warm, attract thin Filings or Chips of Iron, Steel, &c. but not when cold; though there are not wanting some Instances of their retaining the Virtue when quite cold.

28. The Iron Bars of Windows, &c. which have a long time stood in an erect Position, grow permanently *Magnetical*; the lower Ends of such Bars being the North Pole, and the upper the Southern.

29. A Bar of Iron that has not stood long in an erect Posture, if it be only held perpendicularly, will become *Magnetical*, and its lower End the North Pole; as appears from its attracting the South Pole of a Needle: But then this Virtue is transient, and by inverting the Bar, the Poles will shift their Places. In order therefore to render the Quality permanent in an Iron Bar, it must continue a long time in a proper Position. But Fire will produce the Effect in a short time; for as it will immediately deprive a *Loadstone* of its attractive Virtue, so it soon gives a Verticity to a Bar of Iron, if being heated red-hot, it be cool'd in an erect Posture, or, directly North and South. Nay, Tongs and Fire-forks, by being often heated and set to cool again in a Posture nearly erect, have gain'd this *Magnetical* Property.

30. Mr. BOYLE found, that by heating a Piece of *Englisch Oker* red-hot, and placing it to cool in a proper Posture, it manifestly acquired a *Magnetic* Virtue. And an excellent *Magnet* of the same ingenious Gentleman's having lain near a Year in an inconvenient Posture,

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Posture, had its Virtue surprizingly impair'd, as if it had been by Fire.

31. A Needle well touch'd, it is known, will point North and South: If it have one contrary Touch of the same Stone, it will be deprived of its Faculty; and by another such Touch will have its Poles quite changed.

32. If a Bar of Iron have gain'd a Verticity by being heated red-hot, and cool'd again North and South, and then hammer'd at the two Ends; its Virtue will be destroy'd by two or three smart Blows on the Middle.

33. By drawing the Back of a Knife, or long Piece of Steel Wire, &c. leisurely over the Pole of a *Loadstone*; carrying the Motion from the middle of the Stone to the Pole, the Knife or Wire will accordingly attract one End of a Needle; but if the Knife or Wire be pass'd from the said Pole to the middle of the Stone, it will repel that End of the Needle which in the other Case it attracts.

34. Either a *Magnet* or a Piece of Iron being laid on a Piece of Cork, so as to swim freely in Water; it will be found, that which soever of the two is held in the Hand, the other will be drawn to it: So that Iron attracts the *Magnet* as much as it is attracted by it; Action and Re-action being always equal. In this Experiment, if the *Magnet* be set afloat, it will direct its two Poles to the Poles of the World.

35. A Knife, &c. touch'd with a *Magnet*, acquires a greater or lesser Degree of Virtue, according to the Part it is touch'd on. It receives the strongest Touch, when it is drawn
leisurely

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leisurely from the Handle to the Point over one of the Poles; and if the same Knife thus touch'd, and thus in Possession of a strong attractive Power, be retouch'd in a contrary Direction, viz. by drawing it from the Point towards the Handle over the same Pole, it immediately loses all its Virtue.

Lastly, A *Magnet* acts with equal Force in *vacuo*, and in the open Air.

The Laws of *Magnetism*, as laid down by Mr. WHISTON, are as follow.

1. The Loadstone has both an attractive and a directive Power united together; whereas Iron touch'd by it has only the former; *i. e.* the Magnet not only attracts Needles or Filings of Steel, but directs them to certain different Angles, with respect to its own Surface and Axis; whereas Iron touch'd with it does little or nothing more than attract them; still suffering them to lie along, or stand perpendicular to its Surface and Edges in all Places, without any such special Direction.

2. Neither the strongest nor the largest Magnets give a better directive Touch to Needles, than those of a less Size or Virtue. To which it may be added, that whereas there are two Qualities in all Magnets, an attractive and a directive one, neither of them depend on, or are any Argument of the Strength of the other.

3. The attractive Power of Magnets and of Iron, will greatly increase or diminish the Weight of Needles on the Ballance; nay, will overcome

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overcome that Weight, and sustain other additional Weights too; while the directive Power has much smaller Effect. GASENDUS indeed, as well as MERSENNUS and Dr. GILBERT maintain it has none at all, but by Mistake; for Mr. WHISTON found from repeated Trials on large Needles, that after the Touch they weigh'd less than before; one of 4584½ Grains lost 2½ Grains by the Touch; and another of 65726 Grains Weight no less than 14 Grains.

4. It is probable that Iron consists almost wholly of the attractive Particles; and the Magnet of the attractive and directive together; mix'd probably with other heterogeneous Matter; as having never been purged by the Fire, which Iron has: And hence may arise the Reason why Iron, after it has been touch'd, will lift up much greater Weights than the Loadstone which touch'd it.

5. The Quantity and Direction of Magnetic Powers, communicated to Needles, is not properly, after such Communication, owing to the Magnet which gave the Touch, but to the Goodness of the Steel that receives it, and to the Strength and Position of the terrestrial Loadstone, whose Influence alone those Needles are afterwards subject to, and directed by: So that all such Needles, if good, move with the same Strength, and point to the same Angle, what Loadstone soever (provided it be good) they were excited by. Nor does the Touch seem to do much more in Magnetical, than Attrition in Electrical Cases; *i. e.* it serves to rub off some obstructing Particles, that adhere to the Surface of the Steel, and open the Pores
of

of the Bodies touch'd, and so make way for the Entrance and Exit of such Effluvia as occasion or assist the Powers we are speaking of. Hence Mr. WHISTON takes occasion to observe, that the directive Power of the Loadstone seems to be mechanical, and to be derived from Magnetic Effluvia, circulating continually round it.

6. The absolute attractive Power of different arm'd Loadstones, is, *cæteris paribus*, according to the Quantity, not of their Diameters or Solidities, but of the Surfaces of the Loadstones, or in a duplicate Proportion of their Diameters.

7. The Power of good Magnets unarm'd, not sensibly different in Strength, similar in Figure and Position, but unequal in Magnitude, is sometimes a little greater, sometimes a little less than in the Proportion of their similar Diameters.

8. The Loadstone attracts Needles that have been touch'd, and others that have not been touch'd with equal Force, at Distances unequal, *viz.* where the Distances are to one another as five to two.

9. Both Poles of a Loadstone equally attract Needles, till they be, tho' roughly touch'd; then it is, and then only, that one Pole begins to attract one End, and repel the other; though the repelling Pole will still attract upon Contact, nay at very small Distances, notwithstanding.

10. The attractive Power of Loadstones, in their similar Position to, but different Distances from Magnetic Needles, is in the sequiduplicate Proportion

Proportion of the Distances of their Surfaces from their Needles reciprocally; or as the mean Proportionals between the Squares and the Cubes of those Distances reciprocally; or as the square Roots of the fifth Powers of those Distances reciprocally. Thus the Magnetic Power of Attraction, at twice the Distance from the Surface of the Loadstone, is between a fifth and sixth Part of that Power at the first Distance. At thrice the Distance the Power is between the fifteenth and sixteenth Part, at four times the Distance the Power is thirty-two times as small, and at six times the Distance eighty-eight times as small. Where it is to be noted, that the Distances are, not taken, as in the Law of Gravity, from the Center, but from the Surface: All Experience assuring us, that the Magnetic Power resides chiefly, if not wholly, in the Surfaces of the Loadstones and Iron; without any particular Relation to any Center at all. The Proportion here laid down was determined by Mr. WHISTON, from a great Number of Experiments of Mr. HAUKEBEE, Dr. BROOK TAYLOR, and himself. The Force they measured by the Chords of those Arcs, by which the Magnet, at several Distances, draws the Needle out of its natural Direction, to which Chords (as he has demonstrated) it is ever proportional. The Numbers in some of their most accurate Trials he gives us in the following Table, setting down half the Chords, or the Sines of half those Arches of Declination, as the true Measures of the Power of Magnetism.

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Distance

Distance in Inches.	Degrees of Inclination.	Sines of $\frac{1}{2}$ Arcs.	Rat. sef- quidupl.
20	2	175	466
14 $\frac{3}{4}$	4	349	216
13 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	523	170
12 $\frac{3}{4}$	8	697	138
11 $\frac{1}{2}$	10	871	105
10 $\frac{1}{2}$	12	1045	87
9 $\frac{1}{4}$	14	1219	70

11. An Inclinary or Dipping-Needle, of six Inches Radius, and of a Prismatic or Cylindric Figure, when it oscillates along the Magnetic Meridian, performs here every mean Vibration in about 6'' or 360'''; and every small Oscillation in about 5'' $\frac{1}{2}$, or 330'''; and the same kind of Needle, four Foot long, makes every mean Oscillation in about 24'', and every small one in about 22''.

12. The entire Power of Magnetism in this Country, as it affects Needles a Foot long, is to that of Gravity nearly as one to 300; and as it affects Needles four Foot long, as one to 600.

13. The Quantity of Magnetic Power accelerating the same Dipping Needle, as it oscillates in different vertical Planes, is ever as the Co-sines of the Angles made by those Planes, and the Magnetic Meridian, taken on the Horizon.

Thus if we would estimate the Quantity of Forces in the Horizontal and Vertical Situations of Needles at *London*, we shall find that the latter in Needles a Foot long, is, to the entire Force along the Magnetic Meridian, as 96 to 100; and in Needles four Foot long, as 9667 to 10000: Whereas in the former, the entire

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entire Force in Needles a Foot long, is as 28 to 100; and in those four Foot long, as 2560 to 10000. Whence it follows, that the Power by which Horizontal Needles are govern'd in these Parts of the World, is but one Quarter of the Power by which the Dipping-Needle is moved.

Hence also, since the Horizontal Needle is moved only by a Part of the Power which moves the Dipping-Needle; and that it only points to a certain Place in the Horizon, because that Place is the nearest its original Tendency of any its Situation will allow it to tend to: Whenever the Dipping-Needle stands exactly perpendicular to the Horizon, the Horizontal Needle will not respect one Point of the Compass more than another, but will wheel about every way uncertainly.

14. The Time of Oscillation and Vibration, both in Dipping and Horizontal Needles equally good, is as their Length directly; and the actual Velocity of their Points along their Arcs always equal.

Hence Magnetic Needles are, *ceteris paribus*, still better the longer they are; and that in the same Proportion with their Lengths.

15. The Earth, on which we live, includes within it a vast Spherical Magnet, concentric thereto, having its own Poles, Meridians, Equator, and Parallels; and all much of the same general Nature with those of small Terrellæ, or Spherical Loadstones, in the Possession of the Curious among us.

16. The Power of a good Terrella, or a Spherical Loadstone, as it affects a Needle a Foot long, is equal to the Magnetic Power of

that internal Loadstone about two and an half, or three Diameters off such Loadstone. From which Consideration, the Quantity of Magnetic Attraction, at all Distances from the internal Loadstone, for Needles a Foot long may be determined; and from the same Consideration it appears, that the Diameter of this internal Loadstone is about 1150 Miles. To which we may add, that in regard Sir ISAAC NEWTON has demonstrated, that the Power of Gravity diminishes within the Earth, and is lesser there than at its Surface nearly, in the proportion of its greater Nearness to the Center; the Magnetic Power at 1900 Miles distance from us, and nearly 1060 from the Earth's Center, which is $\frac{1}{14}$ of the Power of Gravity here, will be somewhat greater than the Power of Gravity there: Which Limit is worth our Attention, Gravity being stronger than Magnetism on the one Side of it, and weaker on the other; we mean as it affects Needles of one Foot diameter. At that Limit therefore, at least near the Magnetic Poles, Iron, a Foot long, will be twice as heavy, and fall twice as fast as any other natural Body, viz. by the Union of those two equal Powers, Gravity and Magnetism; and of consequence above that Limit, such an Iron will be less than twice as heavy; below it, more than twice as heavy as any other natural Body.

17. The Earth's internal Loadstone is not fix'd to our upper Parts, but is moveable with respect thereto, and actually revolves on the Earth's Axis from East to West, in a certain long Period of Time; as appears, beyond Contradiction, from the constant Variation of the
Horizontal

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Horizontal Needle Westward, as well as the regular Increase of Inclination of the Dipping-Needle.

18. This internal Magnet has one central Pole Northwards, in the nature of the Poles of our common Loadstones; but its Southern Pole appears not to be central, but rather circular; and that at a great Distance from the Southern Pole of the Earth.

19. The Northern Magnetic Pole is now situate about the Latitude of 76 Degrees $\frac{1}{2}$, *i. e.* 13 Degrees $\frac{1}{2}$ from the North Pole of the Earth, and about 30 Degrees Eastward from the Meridian of *London*.

20. The Southern Magnetic Pole has its Center, or central Pole, nearly in the Parallel of 60 Degrees; and in a Meridian passing along the East Coast of *Borneo*, about 117 Degrees Eastward of *London*; its Radius is also an Arc of a great Circle of about 44 Degrees.

21. The respective Motion of the internal Magnet, or the Velocity of its North Pole, appears to be 27 Deg. 0 Min. in 144 Years, *i. e.* upwards of one Degree in five Years; so that it makes an entire Revolution in 1920 Years.

Hence as the Number of Degrees in the upper Earth's diurnal Revolution, is to the Number of Days in the Revolution of the internal Magnet, *i. e.* as one is to 700000, so is the respective Motion of this Magnet from East to West, to the real Motion of the upper Earth from West to East; or to speak strictly, so is the Difference of their Motions from West to East, to the entire Motion of the upper Earth the same way. This external fix'd Earth has therefore communicated almost
all

all its Motion already to the internal Magnet, and can communicate no more than this Difference of their Motion, and that only in an infinite Term of Years; or, in other Words, this real internal Motion can never be the seven hundred thousandth Part swifter than it is at present. This internal Motion therefore began with the Commencement of the diurnal Motion of the upper Earth; and has gone on still faster and faster, by the Communication of that Motion through the intermediate Fluid. Since therefore Action and Re-action are equal, and tend to contrary Parts, this internal Loadstone thus accelerated by the upper Part, must have all along retarded that upper Earth, and made the diurnal Rotation still slower and slower. This Acceleration on one Side, and Retardation on the other, must have been very great at the first Beginning of the diurnal Motion, when the Difference of their Motion was equal to the entire Motion itself, and must have been diminishing ever since. To which Cause is probably owing that Acceleration of the Moon's Motion with respect to that of the Earth, since the Time of the old Astronomers, first taken notice of by Dr. HALLEY, and embraced by Sir ISAAC NEWTON. And the same Consideration seems to suggest a Method for determining the Age of the World; for were the Proportions of the Quantity of Matter in the upper Earth to the internal Magnet, with the Tenacity of the intermediate Fluid, &c. known, one might go back from the known Difference of their Velocity now, and find those Differences and Quantities of Motion themselves, *a priori*, in all past Ages; or were the
the

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the Velocity of the first diurnal Rotation of the upper Earth known, we might geometrically determine, *a priori*, how long ago that Rotation began, or how ancient our Earth is.

22. The Variation of Magnetic Needles from the *Azimuth* of the Meridians of the internal Magnet; is derived from the Difference of the Strength of the several Parts of the internal Magnet's Surface; which as it is only to be known by Experience, that Variation cannot be determined beforehand, unless where there are good Accounts how much it had formerly been; it being probable that it returns round, and will be the same in any Year of the next Revolution of the internal Magnet, that it has been in the like Year of any former Revolution, or will itself have a Revolution in about 920 Years.

23. The two fix'd Magnetic Poles, in our upper Earth, first introduced by Dr. HALLEY as necessary to solve the Irregularity of the Variation of the Horizontal Needle from the Meridians of the moveable internal Magnet, seem not to have any just Foundation in Nature; the like Irregularities being found in the common *Terrella* or Spherical Loadstones; and being best accounted for from the Composition of the Magnets, which are found to have Parts of different Degrees of Purity, Strength, and Perfection; so that where the Parts are weaker than ordinary, the stronger neighbouring Parts prevail, and draw the Needle that way: Not but Dr. GILBERT'S Notion of prominent and depress'd Parts on Magnets may have some Room, and be allow'd to contribute somewhat to such Variations.

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As for the Causes of Magnetism, or the Manner in which these Phænomena are produced, we have as yet no Hypothesis that will satisfactorily account for them. The Opinion that chiefly prevails amongst the Moderns is that of DES CARTES, maintain'd by MALEBRANCHE, ROHAULT, REGIS, and others; and even admitted and confirm'd by Mr. BOYLE himself. In this it is supposed, that there is continually flowing, from the Poles of the World, a subtle, impalpable, and invincible Matter, channel'd or striated: Which Matter circulating round the Earth, in the Plains of the Meridians, re-enters at the Pole opposite to that from which it issued, and passes again through the Poles Parallel to its Axis.

It also supposes, that the Magnet has two Poles answerable to those of the Earth, and that out of these there issues a Matter like that just mention'd; and that this Matter entering in at one of the Poles, gives the Impulse whereby Iron tends to the Magnet, and produces what we call *Attraction*.

Moreover, besides this Magnetical Matter re-entering the Poles of the Magnet, there is always a certain Quantity thereof which circulates round the Magnet, composing a kind of Vortex about it. And the Space wherein this Matter moves is the Sphere of Activity of the Magnet, within which its attractive Faculty is confined.

As to its directive Faculty, or the Inclination of a Needle touch'd with it to the Poles of the World, and its Dip to a Point beneath the Horizon, they follow from the same Principle; since were the Magnet or Needle to have any

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~~Other~~ Situation, the Magnetic Matter would strike on its other Surface in vain; and not being able to get Admission, would, by Degrees, change its Situation, till such time as its Pores corresponded to the course of the Magnetical Matter; which Situation having once acquired, it would cease to move, the Magnetical Matter then ceasing to disturb it.

The Form or Essence of a Magnet therefore is supposed to consist in its being perforated by an infinite Number of parallel Pores; some whereof are disposed to admit the striated Matter from the North Pole of the World, and others that of the South. Whence come the North and South Poles of the Magnet.

Mr. HARTSOEKER advances another Theory, and maintains, that the Magnet is no more than a common Stone, full of an infinite Number of hollow Prisms, which, by the diurnal Motion of the Earth, are ranged parallel to each other, and nearly parallel to the Axis of the Earth. These Prisms have their Cavities fill'd with an extremely subtle Matter, which, by the diurnal Motion of the Earth is pass'd from Prism to Prism: Thus making a Circulation, and returning into the Prisms where it first began. From which Principles he accounts for all the above-mention'd Phenomena, as M. ANDRY does from the Doctrine of Alkali and Acid.

As to Mr. WHISTON's Opinion of the directive Power of the Magnet, we have already seen it in his fifth Remark; but as to its attractive Power, he thinks it entirely immechanical, like the Power of Gravity; not being able to devise any such Motion of a subtle Fluid belonging to the Loadstone, as will account for

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the attractive Power in the sesquiduplicate ~~Pro~~portion of the Distances reciprocally; though if he could, it would be no more than to remove the immediate Power of the SUPREAM one Step further; the last Resort of all mechanical Principles whatever, being into the im-mechanical Power and Efficiency of the Deity.

We shall close this Discourse with the Thoughts of the ingenious Dr. HALLEY upon the Variation of the Compass, and the Reason of the Variation of that Variation, as deliver'd by himself in the following Words.

The Variation of the Compass (by which I mean the Deflection of the Magnetical Needle from the true Meridian) is of that Concernment in the Art of Navigation, that the Neglect thereof does little less than render useless one of the noblest Inventions Mankind ever yet attain'd to; and for this Cause all Ships of consequence (especially those bound beyond the Equator) carry with them Instruments on purpose to observe this Variation, that so the Course steer'd by the Compass, may be reduced to the true Course in respect of the Meridian.

Now, although the great Utility that a perfect Knowledge of the Theory of the Magnetical Direction would afford to Mankind in general, and especially to those concern'd in Sea Affairs, seems a sufficient Incitement to all Philosophical and Methemathical Heads, to take under serious Consideration the several Phœnomena, and to endeavour to reconcile them by some general Rule: Yet so it is, that almost all the Authors from whom a Discourse of this kind ought to have been expected, pass by in Silence the Difficulties they here encounter, and those

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those that mention this Variation, by affirming it to proceed from Causes altogether uncertain (as are the casual lying of Iron-mines and Load-stones in the Earth) put a stop to all further Contemplation, and give Discouragement to those that would otherwise undertake this Enquiry. 'Tis true, that not long since one Mr. BOND, an old Teacher of Navigation, put forth a small Treatise, wherein he pretends to calculate the Variation; but he limits his Hypothesis to the City of *London*, affirming himself (as he had a great deal of Reason) that the same Calculus is not sufficient for other Places; whereby it appears, that this Rule is far short of the so much desired general one.

Now, although (thro' want of sufficient Observations, and some other Difficulties which I shall anon shew) I cannot pretend perfectly to establish the Numbers and Rules of a Calculus, which shall precisely answer to the Variations of all parts of the World; yet I suppose it will not be unacceptable to the Curious to propose something of a Light into this abstruse Mystery; which, if no other, may have this good Effect, to stir up the Philosophical Geni of the Age to apply themselves more attentively to this useful Speculation. But before I proceed, 'twill be necessary to lay down the Grounds upon which I raise my Conclusions, and at once to give a Synopsis of those Variations which I have Reason to look upon as sure, being mostly the Observations of Persons of good Skill and Integrity.

A TABLE of VARIATIONS.

Names of Places.	Longitude from London		Latitude		Anno Dom.	Variation observed.	
	D.	M.	D.	M.		D.	M.
London.	0	0	51	32 N.	1580	11	15 E.
					1622	6	0 E.
					1634	4	5 E.
					1672	2	30 W.
Paris.	2	25 E.	48	51 N.	1683	4	30 W.
					1649	3	0 E.
					1666	0	0
					1681	2	30 W.
Uraniburg.	13	0 E.	55	54 N.	1672	2	35 W.
Copenhagen.	12	53 E.	55	41 N.	1649	1	30 E.
					1672	3	35 W.
Dantzick.	19	0 E.	54	23 N.	1679	7	0 W.
Montpelier.	4	0 E.	43	37 N.	1674	1	10 W.
Brest.	4	25 W.	48	23 N.	1680	1	45 W.
Rome.	13	0 E.	41	50 N.	1681	5	0 W.
Bayonne.	1	20 W.	43	30 N.	1680	1	20 W.
Hudson's Bay.	79	40 W.	51	0 N.	1668	19	15 W.
In Hudson's Straights.	57	0 W.	61	0 N.	1668	29	30 W.
In Baffin's Bay at Sir Thomas Smith's Sound.	80	0 W.	78	0 N.	1616	57	0 W.
At Sea.	50	0 W.	38	40 N.	1682	7	30 W.
At Sea.	31	30 W.	43	50 N.	1682	5	30 E.
At Sea.	42	0 W.	21	0 N.	1678	0	40 E.
Cape St. Aug. off Brazil.	35	30 W.	8	0 S.	1670	5	30 E.
Cape Frio.	41	10 W.	22	40 S.	1670	12	10 E.
At Sea off the Mouth of the River of Plate.	53	0 W.	39	30 S.	1670	20	30 E.
At the East Entrance of Magellan Straights.	68	0 W.	52	30 S.	1670	17	0 E.

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Names of Places.	Longitude from London.	Latitude.	Anno Dom.	Variation observed.
	D. M.	D. M.		D. M.
At the West Entrance of Magellan Straights. } Baldivia.	75 ° W.	53 ° S.	1670	14 10 E.
	73 ° W.	40 ° S.	1670	8 10 E.
At Cape d'Agulhas. }	16 30 E.	34 50 S.	1622	2 ° W.
			1675	8 ° W.
At Sea.	1 ° E.	34 30 S.	1675	0 °
At Sea.	20 ° W.	34 ° S.	1675	10 30 E.
At Sea.	32 ° W.	24 ° S.	1675	10 30 E.
At St. Helena.	6 30 W.	16 ° S.	1677	0 40 E.
At Ascension.	14 30 W.	7 50 S.	1678	1 ° E.
At Johanna.	44 ° E.	12 15 S.	1655	19 30 W.
At Monbasa.	40 ° E.	4 ° S.	1675	16 ° W.
At Zocatra.	56 ° E.	12 30 N.	1674	17 ° W.
At Aden at the Mouth of the Red Sea. }	47 30 E.	13 ° N.	1674	15 ° W.
At Diego Roiz.	61 ° E.	20 ° S.	1676	20 30 W.
At Sea.	64 30 E.	0 °	1676	15 30 W.
At Sea.	55 ° E.	27 ° S.	1676	24 ° W.
At Bombay.	72 30 E.	19 ° N.	1676	12 ° W.
At Cape Comorin.	76 ° E.	8 15 N.	1680	8 48 W.
At Ballasore.	87 ° E.	21 30 N.	1680	8 20 W.
At Fort St. George.	80 ° E.	13 15 N.	1680	8 10 W.
At the West Point of Java }	104 ° E.	6 40 S.	1676	3 10 W.
At Sea.	58 ° E.	39 ° S.	1677	27 30 W.
At the Isle of St. Paul. }	72 ° E.	38 ° S.	1677	23 30 W.
At van Diemen Land. }	142 ° E.	42 25 S.	1642	0 °
At New Zealand	170 ° E.	40 50 S.	1642	9 ° E.
At Three Kings Isle in New Zealand }	169 30 E.	34 35 S.	1642	8 40 E.

Names of Places.	Longitude from London.	Latitude.	Anno Dom.	Variation observed.
At the Isle } Rotterdam in } the South Sea }	184 ° E.	20 15 S.	1642	6 20 E.
On the Coast } of new Guinea }	149 ° E.	4 30 S.	1643	8 45 E.
At the West } Point of New } Guinea. }	126 ° E.	0 26 S.	1643	5 30 E.

Tho' I wish we could obtain from the *Spaniards* what Variations they find in their Voyages from the *Manilhas* towards *Acapulco*, through the North Part of the *South Sea*; as likewise what it is at *Japan* from the *Dutch*: Yet (considering the Number of these Observations I have collected, and that they are made in Parts of the World so remote from *Europe*, and from one another) I suppose that the Theory that answers these, will scarce fail in those Regions from whence we have as yet no Account. But first we must make some Remarks upon the foregoing Table: And first,

That in all *Europe* the Variation at this time is West, and more in the Eastern Parts thereof than the Western; as likewise that it seems throughout to be upon the Increase that Way.

Secondly, That on the Coast of *America*, about *Virginia*, *New England*, and *New-found-land*, the Variation is likewise Westerly; and that it increases all the way as you go Northerly along the Coast, so as to be 20 Degrees at *New-found-land*, near 30 Degrees in *Hudson's Straights*, and not less than 57 Degrees in *Baffin's Bay*: Also that as you sail Eastward from this Coast,

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Coast, the Variation diminishes. From these two it is a legitimate Corollary, *that somewhere between Europe, and the North Part of America, there ought to be an Easterly Variation, or at least no Westerly*: And so I conjecture it is about the Eastermost of the *Tercera Islands*.

Thirdly, that on the Coast of *Brazile* there is East Variation, which increases very notably as you go to the Southward, so as to be 12 Degrees at *Cape Frio*, and over against the River of *Plate* 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ Degrees; and from thence sailing South-Westerly to the Straits of *Magellan*, it decreases 17 Degrees, and at the West Entrance but 14 Degrees.

Fourthly, that at the Eastward of *Brazile*, properly so call'd, this Easterly Variation decreases, so as to be very little at *St. Helena* and *Ascension*, and to be quite gone, and the Compass point true about 18 Degrees of Longitude West from the *Cape of Good Hope*.

Fifthly, That to the Eastward of the afore-said Places, Westward Variation begins, which reigns in the whole *Indian Sea*, and arises to no less than 18 Degrees under the Equator itself, about the Meridian of the Northern Part of *Madagascar*: And near the same Meridian, but in 39 Degrees South Latitude, it is found full 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ Degrees: From thence Easterly the West Variation decreases, so as to be little more than 8 Degrees at *Cape Comorin*, and than 3 Degrees upon the Coast of *Java*; and to be quite extinct about the *Molucca Islands*, as also a little to the Westward of *van Diemens Land*, found out by the *Dutch* in 1642.

Sixthly, That to the Eastward of the *Moluccas* and *van Diemens Land* in South Latitude, there

there arises another Easterly Variation, which seems not so great as the former, nor of so large Extent; for that at the *Island Rotterdam* it is sensibly less than upon the East Coast of *New Guinea*. And at the Rate it decreases, it may be well supposed, that about 10 Degrees farther East, or 22½ Degrees East Longitude from *London*, in the Latitude of 10 Degrees South, a Westerly Variation begins.

Seventhly, That the Variations observed by the Honourable Sir JOHN NORBOROUGH at *Baldivia*, and at the West Entrance of the Straights of *Magellan*, do plainly shew, that the Eastern Variation, noted in our third Remark, is decreasing apace; and that it cannot reasonably extend many Degrees into the *South Sea*, from the Coast of *Peru* and *Chili*, leaving room for a small Westerly Variation, in that Tract of the unknown World that lies in the Midway between *Chili* and *Zealand*, and between *Hounds Island* and *Peru*.

Eighthly, That in sailing North-West from *St. Helena*, by *Ascension*, as far as the Equator, the Variation continues very small East, and as it were constantly the same: So that in this Part of the World the Course, wherein there is no Variation, is evidently no Meridian, but rather North-West.

Ninthly, That at the Entrance of *Hudson's Straights*, and the Mouth of the River of *Plate*, being nearly under the same Meridian, at the one Place the Needle varies 29½ Degrees to the West, and at the other 20½ Degrees to the East. This plainly demonstrates the Impossibility of reconciling these Variations by the

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the Theory of BOND, which is by two *Magnetical Poles and an Axis inclined to the Axis of the Earth*. From whence it would follow, *That under the same Meridian the Variation should be in all Places the same way*.

These Things being premised, may serve as a sure Foundation to raise the Superstructure of a Theory upon. But first it would not be a-miss to shew hereby the Mistakes of GILBERT and DES CARTES: The first whereof supposes, that *the Earth itself being in all its Parts Magnetical, and the Water not; where-soever the Land is, thither also should the Needle turn, as to the greater Quantity of Magnetical Matter*. But this in many Instances is not true, but most remarkably upon the Coast of *Brazile*, where the Needle is so far from being attracted by the Land, that it turns the quite contrary Way, leaving the Meridian to lie N. by E. which is just along the Coast. As to the Position of DES CARTES, That *the Iron and Load-stones, hid in the Bowels of the Earth, and the Bottom of the Sea, may be the Cause that the Needle varies*; if we consider for how great a Part of the Earth's Surface, *ex gr.* in the whole *Indian Sea*, the Needle declines the same way, and that regularly, 'twill follow that the attracting Substance that occasions it must be very far distant. Now by Experience we find the little Force that Iron Guns have upon the the Compass in Ships, (their Virtue, tho' they be Demiculverin, or greater Cannon, being not perceptible at four or five Yards distance) and the Experiments now before the ROYAL SOCIETY do plainly shew, how little a Magnetism there is in most crude Iron Ores:

What Quantity thereof must be then supposed to make so powerful a Diversion at two or three thousand Miles distance? Yet I cannot deny that in some Places near the Shoar, or in Shoal-Water, the Needle may be irregularly directed from the aforesaid Causes, and that not a little, as GASSENDUS gives a notable Instance of the Island in the *Mediterranean Sea*: But these Differences from the general Direction are always Signs of the Nearness of those Magnetical Substances, for the Production whereof that Island *Elba* has been famous from all Antiquity. Besides, against both DES CARTES and GILBERT, the Change of the Variation which has been within these hundred Years last past more than 15 Degrees at *London*, is an entire Demonstration; tho' DES CARTES does not stick to say, that the Transportation of Iron from Place to Place, and the Growth of new Iron within the Earth, where there was none before, may be the Cause thereof. The same holds likewise against the *Hypothesis* of *Magnetical Fibres*, which KIRCHER maintains.

Now to propose something that may answer the several Appearances, and introduce nothing strange in Philosophy, after a great many close Thoughts, I can come to no other Conclusion than, That *the Globe of the Earth is one great Magnet, having four Magnetical Poles, or Points of Attraction, near each Pole of the Equator two; and adjacent to any one of these Magnetical Poles, the Needle is govern'd thereby, the nearest Pole being always predominant over the more remote.* The Parts of the Earth wherein these Magnetical Poles lie, cannot as yet be exactly determined, for want of sufficient *Data* to
proceed

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proceed Geometrically; but as near as Conjecture can reach, I reckon that the *Pole*, which is at present nearest to us, lies in or near the Meridian of the *Land's End of England*, and not above 7 Degrees from the *Pole Artick*. By this *Pole* the Variations in all *Europe*, and *Tartary*, and the *North Sea*, are principally govern'd, tho' with regard to the other Northern Pole, whose Situation is in a *Meridian* passing about the middle of *California*, and about 15 Degrees from the North Pole of the World. To this the Needle has chiefly Respect in all *North America*, and in the two Oceans on either Side thereof, from the *Azores* Westward to *Japan*, and farther. The two *Southern Poles* are farther distant from the South Pole of the World: The one about 16 Degrees therefrom, is in a Meridian, some 20 Degrees to the Westward of *Magellan Straights*, or 25 Degrees Westward from *London*. This commands the Needle in all *South America*, in the *Pacifick Sea*, and the greatest Part of the *Ethiopic Ocean*. The fourth and last *Pole* seems to have the greatest Power and largest Dominions of all, as it is the most remote from the Pole of the World, being little less than 20 Degrees distant therefrom in the Meridian, which passes through *Hollandia nova* and the Island *Celebes*, about 120 Degrees East from *London*. This *Pole* is predominant in the South Part of *Africa*, in *Arabia*, and the *Red Sea*, in *Persia*, *India*, and its Islands, and all over the *Indian Sea*, from the *Cape of Good Hope* Eastwards to the Middle of the great *South Sea* that divides *Asia* from *America*. This seems to be the present Disposition of the

Magnetical Virtue throughout the whole Globe of the Earth: It remains to shew how this Hypothesis makes out all the Variations that have been observed of late, and how it answers to our several Remarks drawn from the Table. And first it is plain, that (our *European North Pole* being in the Meridian of the *Land's End of England*) all Places more Easterly than that will have it on the West-Side of their Meridian, and consequently the Needle, respecting it with its Northern Point, will have a Westerly Variation, which will still be greater as you go to the Eastward, till you come to some Meridian in *Russia*, where it will be greatest, and from thence decrease again. Thus at *Brest* the Variation is but $1\frac{1}{4}$ Degrees, at *London* $4\frac{1}{2}$ Degrees; but at *Dantzick* 7 Degrees West. To the Westward of the Meridian of the *Land's End*, the Needle ought to have an Easterly Variation, were it not that (by approaching the *American Northern Pole*, which lies on the West-Side of the Meridian, and seems to be of greater Force than this other) the Needle is drawn thereby Westwards, so as to counterbalance the Direction given by the *European Pole*, and to make a small West Variation in the Meridian of the *Land's End* itself; yet I suppose, that about the Middle of the *Isle Tercera*, our nearest Pole may so far prevail, as to give the Needle a little Turn to the East, tho' but for a very small Space: The Counterbalance of those two Poles permitting no considerable Variation in all the Eastern Parts of the *Atlantic Ocean*; nor upon the West Coasts of *England* and *Ireland*,
France,

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France, Spain, and Barbary: But to the Westward of the *Azores*, the Power of the *American Pole* overcoming that of the *European*, the Needle has chiefly Respect thereto, and turns still more and more towards it, as you approach it. Whence it comes to pass, that on the Coast of *Virginia, New England, Newfoundland, and Hudson's Straights*, the Variation is Westward; that it decreases as you go from thence towards *Europe*, and that it is less in *Virginia* and *New England*, than in *New-found-land* and *Hudson's Straights*. This Westerly Variation again decreases, as you pass over *North America*; and about the Meridian of the Middle of *California*, the Needle again points due North; and from thence Westward to *Yedzo* and *Japan*, I make no doubt but the Variation is Easterly, and half the Sea over no less than 15 Degrees, if there be any Truth in this Hypothesis of mine. Therefore I propose this as a Trial, that the whole may be scan'd thereby, and I conceive it will not be hard to know of the *Spaniards* how it is, who so frequently sail through that Ocean in their Return from the *Manilha Isles*. This East Variation extends over *Japan, Yedzo, East Tartary*, and Part of *China*, till it meets with the Westerly, which is govern'd by the *European North Pole*, and which I observed was greatest somewhere in *Russia*.

Towards the Southern Pole the Effect is much the same, only that here the South Point of the Needle is attracted. Hence it will follow, that the Variation on the Coast of *Brazile*, at the *River of Plate*, and so on to the Straights of *Magellan*, should be Easterly
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(as in our third Remark) if we suppose a Magnetical Pole situate about 20 Degrees more Westerly than the Straights of *Magellan*. And this Easterly Variation doth extend Eastward over the greatest Part of the *Ethiopic Sea*, till it be counterpoised by the Virtue of the other Southern Pole; as it is about the Midway between the *Cape of Good Hope*, and the Isles of *Tristan d'Acuntia*. From thence Eastwards, the *Asian* South Pole (as I must take the Liberty to call it) becoming prevalent, and the South Point of the Needle being attracted thereby, there arises a West Variation very great in Quantity and Extent, because of the great Distance of this Magnetical Pole of the World.

Hence it is, that in all the *Indian Sea*, as far as *Hollandia nova*, and farther, there is constantly West Variation; and that under the Equator itself it arises to no less than 18 Degrees where 'tis most. About the Meridian of the Island *Celebes*, being likewise that of this Pole, this Westerly Variation ceases, and an Easterly begins, which reaches, according to my Hypothesis, to the Middle of the *South Sea* between *Zelandia nova* and *Chili*, leaving room for a small West Variation govern'd by the *American* South Pole, which I shew'd to be in the *Pacific Sea*, in the sixth and seventh Remark.

What I have now said does plainly shew the Sufficiency of this Hypothesis for solving the Variations that are at this Time observed in the *temperate* and *frigid Zones*, where the Direction of the Needle chiefly depends upon the

the Counterpoise of the Forces of two Magnetical Poles of the same Nature; and I suppose I have shewn how it comes to pass, that under the same Meridian the Variation should be in one Place $29\frac{1}{2}$ West, and in another $20\frac{1}{2}$ East, as I have noted in my ninth Remark. In the *torrid Zone*, and particularly under the *Equinoctial*, Respect must be had to all four Poles, and their Poles and their Positions well considered; otherwise it will not be easy to determine what the Variations shall be, the nearest Pole being always the strongest: Yet not so as not to be counter-balanced by the united Forces of two more remote. A notable Instance whereof is in our eighth Remark, where I took notice, that in sailing from *St. Helena* by the Isle of *Ascension*, to the Equator, on a North-West Course, the Variation is very little Easterly, and in that whole Tract unalterable; for which I give this Reason, that the South *American* Pole (which is considerably the nearest in the aforesaid Places) requiring a great Easterly Variation, is counterpoised by the contrary Attraction of the *North American* and *Asian* South Pole; each whereof singly are in these Parts weaker than the *American* South Pole: And upon the North-West Course, the Distance from this latter is very little varied, and as you recede from the *Asian* South Pole, the Balance is still preserved by the Access towards the *North American* Pole. I mention not in this Case the *European* North Pole, its Meridian being little removed from those of these Places, and of itself requiring the same Variations we here find. After the same manner we might proceed to conclude the Variations
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in other Places under and near the Equator: But I purpose to leave it for an Exercise to the Thoughts of the serious Reader, who is desired to help his Imagination, by having before him a Map or Globe of the Earth, and to mark thereon the *Magnetical Poles* in the *Longitudes* and *Latitudes* I assign them.

Thus I hope I have not lost my Pains and Study in this difficult Task, believing that I have put it past doubt, *That there are in the Earth four such Magnetical Points or Poles, which occasion the great Variety and seeming Irregularity which is observed in the Variations of the Compass.* But to calculate what it is, in any Place assign'd, is what I dare not yet pretend to, though I could wish it were my Happiness to oblige the World with so useful a Piece of Knowledge: There are Difficulties that occur, that render the Thing as yet not feasible; for first there are a great many Observations requisite, which ought to be made at the same time; not at Sea, but ashore, with greater Care and Attendance than the Generality of Sailors apply. And besides, it remains undetermined in what Proportion the attractive Power decreases, as you remove from the Pole of a Magnet, without which it were a vain Attempt to go about to calculate. There is yet a further Difficulty, which is the Change of the Variation, one of the Discoveries of this last Century; which shews, that it will require some hundreds of Years to establish a compleat Doctrine of the Magnetical System. From the foregoing Table it should seem, that all the Magnetical Poles had a Motion Westward. But if it be so, 'tis evident, that

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it is not a Rotation about the Axis of the Earth; for then the Variations would continue the same in the same Parallel of *Latitude* (the *Longitude* only changed) as much as is the Motion of the Magnetical Poles: But the contrary is found by Experience; for there is no where in the Latitude of $15\frac{1}{2}$ North between *England* and *America*, a Variation of 11 Degrees East at this Time, as it was once here at *London*: It seems therefore, that our *European* Pole is grown nearer the *Pole Arctic* than it was heretofore, or else that it has lost Part of its Virtue. But whether these Magnetical Poles move altogether with one Motion, or with several; whether equally or unequally; whether circular or libratory: If circular, about what Center; if libratory, after what manner; are Secrets as yet utterly unknown to Mankind, and are reserved for the Industry of future Ages.

Having in the precedent Discourse deliver'd a Theory of the Magnetical Compass, wherein I did collect as many Observations as at that time I could procure, and having carefully compared them together, I came at length to this general Conclusion, *That the Globe of the Earth might be supposed to be one great Magnet, having four Magnetical Poles or Points of Attraction, near each Pole of the Equator two: And that in those Parts of the World which lie near adjacent to any of those Magnetical Poles, the Needle is chiefly govern'd thereby; the nearest Pole being always predominant over the more remote.* And I there have endeavour'd to state and limit the present Position of those Poles in the Surface of our

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Globe,

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Globe, which the Reader pleasing to consult will save us the Pains of repeating. But after all, tho' that Discourse was favourably received both at home and abroad, as seeming to render a tolerable Account of the observed Variations; yet I found two Difficulties not easy to surmount: The one was, that no Magnet I had ever seen or heard of, had more than two opposite Poles, whereas the Earth had visibly four, and perhaps more. And secondly, it was plain that these Poles were not, at least all of them, fix'd in the Earth; but shifted from Place to Place, as appear'd by the great Changes in the Needle's Direction within this last Century of Years, not only at *London* (where this great Discovery was made) but almost all over the Globe of the Earth; whereas it is not known or observed that the Poles of a Loadstone ever shifted their Place in the Stone, nor (considering the compact Hardness of that Substance) can it easily be supposed; tho' the Matter of Fact be too notorious and universal not to be accounted for.

These Difficulties had wholly made me despond, and I had long since given over an Enquiry I had so little Hopes of, when in accidental Discourse, and least expecting it, I stumbled on the following Hypothesis; in delivering whereof, if I shall seem to advance any thing that looks extravagant or romantick, the Reader is desired to suspend his Censure, till he has consider'd the Force and Number of many Arguments which concur to make good so new and so bold a Supposition.

Tho' it be sufficiently known and allow'd, that the Needle's Variation changes, it will be necessary

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necessary however to give a few Instances, whereby it may appear that this Change is gradual and universal, and the Effect of a great and permanent Motion. For which take the following Examples.

At *London*, in the Year 1580, the Variation was observed by Mr. BURROWS to be 11 Deg. 15 Min. East. In *Anno* 1622, the same was found by Mr. GUNTER to be but 6 Deg. 0 Min. East. In the Year 1634, Mr. GELLIBRAND found it 4 Deg. 5 Min. East. In 1657, Mr. BOND observed that there was no Variation at *London*. *Anno* 1672, myself observed it 2 Deg. 30 Min. to the West. In the Year 1692, I again found it 6 Deg. 0 Min. West. So that in 112 Years the Direction of the Needle was changed no less than 17 Degrees.

At *Paris*, ORONTIUS FINÆUS, about the Year 1550, did account it about 8 or 9 Degrees East Variation. *Anno* 1640, it was found 3 Degrees East. *Anno* 1666, there was no Variation there; and *Anno* 1681, I found it to be 2 Deg. 30 Min. to the West.

At *Cape d'Agulhas*, the most Southern Promontory of *Africa*, about the Year 1600, the Needle pointed due North and South without Variation, whence the *Portuguese* gave it its Name. *Anno* 1622, there was 2 Degrees West Variation. *Anno* 1675, it was 8 Deg. 0 Min. West; and in the Year 1691, it was curiously observed not less than 11 Degrees West.

At *St. Helena*, about the Year 1600, the Needle declined 8 Degrees to the East. *Anno* 1623, it was but 6 Deg. 0 Min. East. *Anno* 1677, when I was there, I observed it accurately on Shoar to be 0 Deg. 40 Min. East; and in

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1692, it was found about one Degree Westward of the North.

At *Cape Comorin* in *India*, in the Year 1620, there was 14 Deg. 20 Min. West Variation. In the Year 1680, there was 8 Deg. 48 Min. But now lately in the Year 1688, it was no more than 7 Deg. 30 Min. So that here the Needle has return'd to the East about 7 Degrees in 70 Years.

In all other Examples the Needle has gradually moved towards the West, and the Places are too far asunder to be influenced by the Removal of any Magnetical Matter, which may by Accident be transplaced within the Bowels, or on the Surface of the Earth. If more Examples are desired, the Reader may be furnish'd with them in the *Portuguese Routier* of ALLIEXO DE MOTTA (written about the Year 1600) and in the Voyage of BEAULIEU, both publish'd in Mr. THEVENOT'S first Collection of curious Voyages, printed at *Paris*, Anno 1663; which he is to compare with the Journals of our late *East-India* Voyagers; and I am assured that it will be thereby evident, that the Direction of the Needle is in no Place fix'd and constant, tho' in some it changes faster than in others; and where for a long time it has continued as it were unalter'd, it is there to be understood, that the Needle has its greatest Deflection, and is become stationary, in order to return, like the Sun in the Tropick. This, at present, is in the *Indian Sea*, about the Island *Mauritius*, where is the highest West Variation, and in a Tract tending from thence into the N. N. W. towards the *Red Sea* and *Egypt*. And in all Places to the Westward of this

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this Tract, all over *Africa*, and the Seas adjoining, the West Variation will be found to have increased; and to the Eastwards thereof, as in the Example of *Cape Comorin*, to have decreased, viz. all over the *East-Indies*, and the Islands near it.

After the like manner, in that Space of East Variations, which beginning near *St. Helena*, is found all over *South America*, and which at present is highest about the Mouth of *Rio de la Plata*, it has been observed, that in the Eastern Parts thereof, the Variation of the Needle gradually decreases: But whether on the contrary it increases in those Places which lie more Westerly than that Tract wherein the highest East Variation is found, or how it may be in the vast *Pacific Sea*, we have not Experience enough to ascertain, only we may by Analogy infer, that both the East and West Variations therein do gradually increase and decrease after the same Rule.

These Pœnomena being well understood and duly consider'd, sufficiently evince, that the whole Magnetical System is by one, or perhaps more Motions translated; whether Eastwards or Westwards, I shall anon discuss; that this moving Thing is very great, as extending its Effects from Pole to Pole; and that the Motion thereof is not *per Saltum*, but a gradual and regular Motion.

Now considering the Structure of our *Terraqueous* Globe, it cannot be well supposed that a very great Part thereof can move within it, without notably changing its Center of Gravity, and the Equilibre of its Parts, which would produce very wonderful Effects in changing the

Axis

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Axis of diurnal Rotation, and occasion strange Alterations in the Seas Surface, by Inundations and Recesses thereof, such as History never yet mention'd. Besides, the solid Parts of the Earth are not to be granted permeable by any other than fluid Substances, of which we know none that are any ways Magnetical: So that the only way to render this Motion intelligible and possible, is to suppose it to turn about the Center of the Earth: And there is yet required, that this moving internal Substance be loose, and detach'd from the external Parts of the Earth wherein we live; for otherwise were it affix'd thereto, the whole must necessarily move together.

So then the external Parts of the Globe may well be reckon'd as the Shell, and the internal as a *Nucleus* or inner Globe included within ours, with a fluid *Medium* between, which having the same common Centre and Axis of diurnal Rotation, may turn about with our Earth each twenty-four Hours; only their outer Sphere having its turbinating Motion some small Matter either swifter or slower than the internal Ball; and a very minute Difference in Length of Time, in many Repetitions becoming sensible, the internal Parts will by degrees recede from the external, and not keeping pace with one another, will appear gradually to move either Eastward or Westward by the Difference of their Motions.

Now supposing such an internal Sphere to have such a Motion, we shall solve the two great Difficulties we encounter'd in my former Hypothesis: For if this exterior Shell of Earth be a *Magnet*, having its Poles at a Distance from

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from the Poles of the diurnal Rotation; and if the internal *Nucleus* be likewise a *Magnet*, having its Poles in two other Places distant also from the *Axis*; and these latter by a gradual and slow Motion change their Place in respect of the external; we may give a reasonable Account of the four Magnetical Poles I presume to have demonstrated before, as likewise of the Changes of the Needle's Variations, which till now hath been unattempted.

The Period of this Motion being wonderful great, and there being hardly an hundred Years since these Variations have been duly observed, it will be very hard to bring this *Hypothesis* to a *Calculus*; especially since, tho' the Variations do increase and decrease regularly in the same Place, yet in differing Places, and at no great Distance, there are found such casual Changes thereof as can no way be accounted for by a regular *Hypothesis*; as depending on the unequal and irregular Distribution of the Magnetical Matter within the Substance of the external Shell or Coat of the Earth, which deflect the Needle from the Position it would acquire from the Effect of the general Magnetism of the whole. Of this the Variations at *London* and *Paris* give a notable Instance: For the Needle hath been constantly about one Degree 30 Min. more Easterly at *Paris* than at *London*; tho' it be certain that according to the general Effect, the Difference ought to be the contrary Way; notwithstanding which, the Variations in both Places do change alike.

Hence, and from some other Things of like Nature, I conclude, that the two Poles of the
external

external Globe are fix'd in the Earth; and that if the Needle were wholly govern'd by them, the Variations thereof would be always the same, with some little Irregularities on the Account I but just above-mention'd: But the Internal Sphere having such a gradual Translation of its Poles, does influence the Needle, and direct it variously, according to the Result of the attractive or directive Power of each Pole; and consequently there must be a Period of the Revolution of this internal Ball, after which the Variations will return again as before. But if it should in future Ages be observed otherwise, we must then conclude that there are more of these internal Spheres, and more Magnetick Poles than four; which at present we have not a sufficient Number of Observations to determine; and particularly in that vast *Mare del Zur*, which occupies so great a Part of the whole Surface of the Earth.

If then two of the Poles be fix'd, and two moveable, it remains to ascertain which they are that keep their Place; and tho' I could wish we had the Experience of another Century of Years to found our Calculations upon, yet I think we may safely determine, that our *European Pole* (which in the precedent Discourse I supposed near the Meridian of the *Land's End* of England, and about 7 Degrees therefrom) is that that is moveable of the two Northern Poles, and that which has chiefly influenced the Variation in these Parts of the World: For in *Hudson's Bay*, which is under the Direction of the *American Pole*, the Change is not observed to be near so fast as in those
Parts

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Parts of *Europe*, tho' that Pole be much farther removed from the *Axis*.

As to the *South Poles*, I take the *Asian* Pole, which I place about the Meridian of the Island *Celebes*, to be the fix'd, and consequently the *American* Pole to move; from the like Observations of the slow Decrease of the Variation on the Coast of *Java*, and near the Meridian of the *Asian* Pole; tho' I must confess to have no Account of the Effects of the other beyond *Magellan Straights*.

If this be allow'd me, 'tis plain that the fix'd Poles are the Poles of this external Shell or *Cortex* of the Earth, and the other two, the Poles of a Magnetical *Nucleus* included and moveable within the other. It likewise follows, that this Motion is Westward; and by consequence, that the aforesaid *Nucleus* has not precisely attain'd the same Degree of Velocity with the exterior Parts in their diurnal Revolution; but so nearly equals it, that in three hundred and sixty-five Revolves, the Difference is scarce sensible. This I conceive to arise from the Impulse, whereby this diurnal Motion was impress'd on the Earth, being given to the external Parts, and from thence in time communicated to the internal; but not so as perfectly to equal the Velocity of the first Motion impress'd on them, and still conserved by the superficial Parts of the Globe.

As to the Quantity of this Motion, it is almost impossible to define it, both from the Nature of this kind of Observation, which cannot be very accurately perform'd, as also from the small Time these Variations have been observed, and their Change discover'd.

It appears by all Circumstances, that its Period is of many Centuries of Years, and as far as may be collected from the Change of the Place, where there was no Variation, by reason of the Equilibre of the two Southern Magnetical Poles, viz. from *Cape d'Agulhas* to the Meridian of *St. Helena* (which is about 23 Degrees in about 90 Years) and of the Place where the Westerly Variation is in its *Acum* or greatest Deflection, being about half so much, viz. from the Isle of *Diego Roiz* to the South-West Parts of *Madagascar*; we may with some Reason conjecture, that the *American* Pole has moved Westwards 46 Degrees in that Time, and that the whole Period thereof is perform'd in 700 Years, or thereabouts: So that the nice Determination of this, and of several other Particulars in the Magnetick System, is reserved for remote Posterity: All that we can hope to do, is to leave behind us Observations that may be confided in, and to propose *Hypothesis* which After-Ages may examine, amend, or refute. Only here I take leave to recommend to all Masters of Ships, and all others, Lovers of natural Truths, that they use their utmost Diligence to make, or procure to be made, Observations of these Variations in all Parts of the World, as well in the North as South Latitude (after the laudable Custom of our *East-India* Commanders) and that they please to communicate them to the ROYAL SOCIETY, in order to leave as compleat a History as may be to those that are hereafter to compare all together, and to compleat and perfect this abstruse Theory.

And

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And by the way, it will not be a-miss to amend a received Error in the Practice of observing the Variation; which is, to take it by the Amplitude of the rising and setting Sun, when his Center appears in the visible Horizon; whereas he ought to be observed when his under Limb is still above the Horizon about $\frac{1}{3}$ of his Diameter, or 20 Minutes, upon the Score of his Refraction, and the Height of the Eye of the Observer above the Surface of the Sea; or else they are to work the Amplitudes as they do the Azimuth, reckoning the Sun's Distance from the Zenith 90 Deg. 36 Min. This, tho' it be of little consequence near the Equinoctial, will make a great Error in high Latitudes, where the Sun rises and sets obliquely.

The History of NAVIGATION continued.

The Use of the Compass being thus known, most of the *European* Nations, who border'd on the Ocean, began to attempt the extending their Commerce, with mutual Industry and Emulation.

Of these, the *Normans*, an unweary'd and undaunted People, were the first who discover'd *Guinea*, and the *Canary Islands*, the Memory of which had been a long time lost. Thus we still find in *Guinea* a Town call'd *Dieppe*, where the Inhabitants of *Dieppe* in *Normandy* had establish'd themselves as early as the Year 1364, and the Names of several other Places abundantly testify the ancient Settlement of that Nation on the Western Coasts of *Africa*.

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The next we hear of are the *Portuguese*, who, encouraged by the advantageous Situation of *Lisbon* and *Oporto*, were extremely solicitous to enlarge their Navigation, and in particular to find out a nearer Passage to the *Indies* than that by the *Red Sea*; and so earnest were the Kings of *Portugal* on this Project, that during the whole fifteenth Century it took up their entire Attention. With this View they sent Ships to visit all the Western Coasts of *Africk*, which about the Year 1420 found out *Madeira*, tho' this Island had before been discover'd in 1344, by one *Macham* an *Engliff-man*, on the following Occasion.

Having stolen a Woman with whom he was in love, and attempting to fly with her into *Spain*, he was cast by a Storm upon the Island *Madeira*, where going a-shore with his Mistress to refresh her, after the Fatigues of the Sea, the Ship, taking the opportunity of a favourable Gale, sail'd away and left them behind. The Lady soon died with Grief, and *Macham*, by the Help of his Companions, erected a little Chapel and Hermitage, which he dedicated to the Name of *Jesus*, and there bury'd her. They then contrived a Boat out of a single Tree, with which they got over to the Coast of *Africk*; where being taken by the *Moors*, they were presented by them to their King, who, for the Novelty of the Accident, sent them to the King of *Castile*, where telling what had befallen them, many went in quest of this Island; but to no purpose, for it could never be found again till the above-mention'd Discovery by the *Portuguese*.

After

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After this, the *Portuguese*, in the Year 1449, took Possession of the Island *Tercera*, and the other *Azores*, which had first been observed by some *Flemings*, but were uninhabited. Soon after they made themselves Masters of the *Verd Islands*, and discover'd *Cape Verd*, which is next to them, between the Rivers *Senegal* and *Gambia*; they also settled themselves on the Golden Coast, and built Fortifications in several Places of *Congo*, quite from the River *Zaire*, which washes that Kingdom, to the River *Coanza*, which crosses the Kingdom of *Angola*.

But notwithstanding the Advantages they reap'd from these rich Settlements, the great Aim of the Pilots, and the Wishes of the Court were yet unanswer'd, viz. the finding a Passage to get to the *Indies* nearer than by the Way of the *Red Sea*. They had already carry'd their Search to 33 Degrees of South Latitude, and began to lose all Hopes, when on another Trial, being come to the 34th Degree of South Latitude, they at last perceived, that by keeping along the tedious Coasts of the *Cafres*, they advanced towards the East, and could even go up again towards the North, by coasting round *Africa*; which gave them a joyful Knowledge of the Facility of trading round that vast Continent, and of doubling the Cape which terminates it towards the South. This, from a Prospect of farther Success, they call'd the *Cape of Good Hope*. This Discovery happen'd in the Year 1487.

Many learned Men, I am sensible, imagine this Passage was well known to the *Phœnicians*, and that they constantly doubled the Cape in their

their three Years Voyage to *Ophir*, but that the Knowledge of it was lost by degrees, after the Conquest of the *Hebrews* and *Tyrrians* by the Kings of *Babylon*. They tell us, that *Ophir* was seated on the Coast of *Africk*, and was the same Country which is now call'd the Kingdom of *Sophara*, or, as the *Portuguese* soften the Pronounciation, *Sophala*; where there is still a considerable Trade for the Gold Dust which the Torrents wash from the Mines, and which are there in great Plenty, especially in the Mountains of *Manica*, whence the River *Sophara* descends.

From *Ophir*, according to them, the *Phœnicians* traffick'd up as far as the Southern Promontory, now call'd the *Cape of Good Hope*, and pursuing their Course from Coast to Coast, kept close to the Western Shore, going up again Northward, till at last they arrived in *Spain*, the *Tarshish* of the Scripture, whence they return'd not till the third Year. This Opinion they likewise support, by the Story of *Necho* King of *Egypt*, which we have already mention'd, who caused some *Phœnicians* to embark on the *Red Sea*, and order'd them to go round *Africa*, to leave the Straights of *Hercules*, to penetrate into the very Northern Sea, and to come again and give him an Account.

The Opinion is certainly very ingenious, and would appear no way improbable, could one possibly conceive, how a Knowledge of such Importance, and such common Practice as that of a commodious Passage to the *Indies*, should ever give place to the most incommodious one imaginable, or should ever be so
entirely

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entirely lost, as not to leave the least Remembrance of it behind, among any People whatever.

However, leaving it as a Matter for every one to judge of as they please, we must observe, that the *Portuguese* having made this noble Discovery, soon found the Benefit of it faithful to their Expectation. For whereas the *Venetians* had hitherto supply'd the rest of *Europe* with the Commodities of *India*, the *Portuguese* now took that valuable Trade to themselves, as the Reward of their Industry, and enjoy'd it without Interruption till the Year 1580, when they were reduced under the Dominion of *Spain* by King *Philip II.* in which State they continued to the Year 1640, which was the Year of the Restoration of the *Braganza* Family.

This falling into the Hands of *Spain*, was the greatest Misfortune that could possibly have happen'd to the *Portuguese*; for the *Dutch*, who during that Interval had shaken off the *Spanish* Yoke, by the Assistance of our *English* Valour; and who were not acknowledged as FREE STATES, by the Crown of *Spain*, till the Peace of *Munster*, in the Year 1648; finding the Ports of *Spain* and *Portugal*, whence they had before drawn their Subsistence, shut against them; were forced by Necessity, as well as prompted by Revenge and their natural Industry, to attempt the Commerce of the *Indies*.

The *Portuguese* being under the Dominion of *Spain*, the *Dutch*, on this Occasion, treated them every where as native *Spaniards*; and succeeded so well in their Designs, that they soon dispossest'd them of all their most valuable Settlements.

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Settlements in the East, reducing them to almost no other Places than *Macao* and *Goa*; by which means the *Portuguese* lost the chief Supports of their State, and, as a trading Nation, had been utterly ruin'd, had not the Commerce of *Africa*, and the Conquest of *Brazile* made them some Amends.

It was also about the Conclusion of the sixteenth Century, that the *English* and *French* began to distinguish themselves at Sea, especially the first; but as a particular Account of the Navigations and Discoveries of both Nations are contain'd in the subsequent Voyages, it would be anticipating the Pleasure of the Reader to enumerate them here.

However, in Justice to OLD ENGLAND, we must not omit observing, that tho' we were neither the Inventors, nor first Improvers of this useful Science, yet no People have done it more Honour, since we have apply'd ourselves to it.

The many noble Additions it has received from our Countrymen can be parallel'd by no one Nation; and the SOVEREIGNTY OF THE SEAS, enjoy'd Time out of Mind by these Kingdoms, will, I hope, be always a lasting Witness in our Favour. For should the *Spaniards*, or any other Nation, incline to dispute it with us, I doubt not, but a BRITISH FLEET, sent to fight, would soon teach them the Madness of taking a Lion by the Beard.

Having, in the preceding Discourse, mention'd the Ships of the Ancients by the Names of *Biremes*, *Triremes*, &c. I must inform the Reader, that they were so call'd, not on account of their having two, three, or four Ranges of
Oars

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Oars one above another, as several learned Men have imagined, and particularly SCALIGER and SNELLIUS; for this would have been impracticable: Nor yet on account of their having but two, three, or four Oars; for then they would have wanted Strength; but because there were two, three, or four Rowers fasten'd to each Oar, as in the Gallies now used, as is thoroughly proved by the Jesuit DECHALES, in his excellent Treatise on the Art of Sailing.

The contrary Opinion was occasion'd by some ancient Gallies, represented on Medals, or in Basso-relievo's, wherein are several Ranges of Rowers placed over each other. But all Mathematicians in general, as well as Pilots, and Ship-builders look upon this as a mere Chimera; forasmuch as PLINY makes mention of Gallies fifteen, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty Banks of Rowers; so that if they were ranged over each other, tho' we were only to allow four Feet for each Deck, there would be a Distance of one hundred and sixty Feet between the lowest Rowers and the highest: And yet we are assured, that the highest Vessel ever built, was only seventy-two Feet high; which was that built under the Direction of ARCHIMEDES, for HIERO King of *Syracuse*; of which SNELLIUS gives us the following Account from ATHE-
NÆUS, and he from MOSCHION, who wrote a whole Volume of its Description.

There was Wood enough employ'd in it to make fifty Gallies, and three hundred Workmen were required to the Building. It had all the Apartments of a Palace; as Banqueting-Rooms, Parlours, Places for Study and Learning, magnificent Lodgings, Galleries, Gardens,
M Fish-

Fish-ponds, Stables, Mills, Baths, a Temple of *Venus*, &c. It was encompass'd (says SNELIUS) with an Iron Rampart, and had eight Towers, two in the Forecastle, two in the Stern, and two on each Side. On the Deck was a Wall with Bulwarks, and on the Wall, in the Towers, and on the Tops of the Masts, were Engines for Battery, and other warlike Purposes, one of which in particular would throw a Stone of three hundred Pounds Weight, or a Dart twelve Cubits long the Space of half a Mile.

The *Biremis*, or a Ship with two Banks of Oars, PLINY tells us, from the Authority of DEMASTHENE, or as SCHEFFER writes it DEMASTHE, an Author as old as HERODOTUS, was first invented by the *Erythrai*. And HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, and DIODORUS SICULUS unanimously agree, that about three hundred Years after the Siege of Troy, AMINO-CLES the *Corinthian* built the first *Triremis*; though this last Invention is attributed by CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS to the *Sidonians*. The *Quadriremis*, according to PLINY, was found out by ARISTOTELES CARTHAGINENSIS; and the *Quinqueremis* by NESIGHTON of *Salamis*. But this DIODORUS denies, affirming, that DIONYSIUS, after a Capture of some *Corinthian Triremis*, contrived to enlarge their Dimensions and *Ordines*; and that he was the first who built a *Quinqueremis*. After this, as PLINY tells us, ZENAGORAS the *Syracusan* built a Ship of six *Ordines*, or Banks of Oars; and NESIGITON one of ten Banks or *Tires*. ALEXANDER the Great is reported to have built

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built a Ship of twelve *Ordines*; and PHILOSEPHANUS says, that PTOLOMY SOTER built one of fifteen, and DEMETRIUS the Son of ANTIGONUS another of thirty; which PLUTARCH confirms. After this, PTOLOMY PHILADELPHUS is said to have increased the Number to forty *Ordines*; and PTOLOMY PHILOPATER to fifty, which seems to have been the *ne plus ultra*.

Having thus taken a short View of the History of NAVIGATION, from its Invention in Egypt till the present Time, with its various Progress from one Nation to another; I believe we may venture to lay it down as a Maxim, which I hope these Kingdoms will never forget, that *Commerce is the Soul of Navigation*, or, so intimate is the Union between them, that the Fall of the one implies of Necessity that of the other, and they must always either flourish or decay together.

Hence have proceeded the numerous Laws, Ordinances, Statutes, &c. which have been made for its Regulation; and to this, in particular, it is we are indebted for that celebrated Act of Navigation, which an ingenious Foreigner calls the PALLADIUM, or tutelar Deity of the Commerce of *England*; which is of too much Importance not to be mention'd here; as it is the standing Rule, not only among ourselves, but also of other Nations with whom we traffick.

Before this, all Nations were free to import into *England* all sorts of Merchandizes, whether of their own Growth, or laden elsewhere, and that on their own Vessels.

It was CROMWELL who first perceived the Injury this Liberty did to the *English* Commerce, which was engross'd almost entirely by Foreigners, and chiefly by the *Dutch*, a People he always hated; wherefore he stir'd up the *English*, by several Acts of Parliament, to resume their Trade into their own Hands; and particularly pass'd an Act, prohibiting the *Dutch* from importing any Merchandizes into these Kingdoms, except those of their own Growth or Manufacture, which were very few.

After King CHARLES II. was restored to the Crown, the first Parliament he call'd, justly distinguishing in CROMWELL the Politician from the Usurper, condemning the Memory of the one, and follow'd the Plan of the other with respect to Navigation and Commerce; by passing that famous Bill or Act of Navigation, dated the 23d of *September*, 1660, which still subsists in its full Force and Vigour, and with the chief Articles of which we shall close this Introduction. They are as follow.

1. *That no Merchandizes shall be imported or exported to or from any of the English Colonies in Asia, Africa, or America; but on Vessels built within the Dominions of England, or really belonging to Englishmen, and whose Masters, and at least three fourths of the Crew are of that Nation, on Pain of Forfeiture of the Goods and Vessel.*

2. *That no Person born out of the Subjection of England, or not naturalized, shall exercise any Commerce in those Colonies for himself or others.*

3. *That*

3. *That no Merchandizes of the Growth of Asia or America, shall be imported into any of the Dominions of England on any other than English Vessels.*

4. *That none of the Commodities of Europe shall be imported into England by any other Vessels than those of the Parts, Countries, and the States where the Commodities grow, or are manufactured.*

5. *That all Kinds of Fish, and Train-Oils, not fish'd by English Vessels, imported into England, shall pay double Duties.*

6. *That the Commerce from Port to Port in England and Ireland shall be carry'd on wholly by English Vessels and Merchants.*

7. *That none but English Vessels shall reap the Benefit of the Diminutions made, or to be made in the Customs.*

8. *All foreign Vessels are prohibited importing into England and Ireland any of the Commodities of Moscovy, or even any Masts, or other Woods, foreign Salt, Rosin, Hemp, Raisins, Prunes, Oil of Olive, any Kind of Corn or Grain, Sugars, Ashes and Soap, Wine, Vinegar, Brandy, Currants, and other Commodities the Product of the Turkish States, except Vessels built in the Places where the Commodities grow or are manufactured, or where it is usual to take them up; and unless the Master and three fourths of the*

the Crew be Natives of the Country where they are laden.

9. *That to prevent all false Declarations in favour of the Entry of foreign Goods, all those mention'd in the last Article shall be deem'd to belong to Strangers that are not brought in Vessels of the Quality mention'd in the first Article; and as such, shall pay the Duties used to be pay'd by other Commodities.*

10. *That to prevent Frauds in buying and disguising foreign Vessels, the Proprietors shall take an Oath that they really belong to them, and that no Foreigner has any Part in them.*

11. *That English Vessels, or reputed English, may import into the Dominions of England, any Merchandizes of the Levant, though not taken up in the Places where they grow, or are manufactured. Provided it be in some Part of the Mediterranean beyond the Straights of Gibraltar. And the same is understood of Commodities brought from the East-Indies; Provided they be taken up in some Port beyond the Cape of Good Hope; and those from the Canaries, and other Colonies of Spain; and the Azores, and other Colonies of Portugal, which are allow'd to be ship'd, the one in Spanish Ports, the other in Portuguese.*

12. *These Penalties, Prohibitions, and Confiscations are not to extend to Goods taken from the Enemies of England, nor to Fish caught by the Scots, or their Corn and Salt, which may be imported into England by the Scotch Vessels.*

13. *Five*

13. Five Shillings per Ton Duty is imposed on every French Vessel arriving in any Port of England, so long (and even three Months longer) as fifty Sols per Ton lies on the English Vessels in France.

Lastly, The Sugars, Tobacco, and other Commodities of the Growth of the English Colonies, shall not be imported into any other Part of Europe, but the Dominions of England; And that Vessels going out of the Ports of the same Crown for the English Colonies, shall give One thousand Pound Security, if under One hundred Tons, and Two thousand Pound if above, e'er they depart, that they will import their Cargo into some Port of the said Dominions; and the like, e'er they quit those Colonies, that they will land their whole Cargo in England.





THE
American TRAVELER.
 BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Peopling of AMERICA.



S no mention is made of AMERICA, in the Account MOSES gives us of the Division of the Earth among the Sons of NOAH, many Men, more fond of Singularity than Solicitous after Truth, have deny'd it's being peopl'd by them or their Descendants, and affirm the AMERICANS to have been *Aborigines*, either created after the Deluge, or not destroy'd by it.

The Arguments commonly us'd to support this Opinion are.

1. The great difference between them and the rest of Mankind in Person, Habit, Languages and Customs.

2. Their having many Species of Animals
 N among

among them which are found no where else, and their utter want of others.

3. Their being divided from the rest of the World by such vast Oceans, or impervious Tracts of Ice, as makes it incredible any access to them should be practicable, while Navigation remain'd in it's Infancy, or indeed before the discovery of the Compaſs.

And Laſtly, which is a natural Conſequence of the former; their having Beasts of Prey, ſuch as Lyons, Tygers, &c. which it can never be ſuppos'd Men would Transport thither, whether led there by Curioſity, Chance, or deſire of Gain.

In answer to theſe, the Argument drawn from the ſilence of Scripture is entirely groundleſs; ſince MOSES only ſpeaks of thoſe parts of the Earth, which were Peopl'd immediately after the Flood, and therefore it can prove no more than a Negative which every body Grants, *viz.* *That America was not inhabited till ſome time after the reſt of the World.* To which we may add, that MOSES wrote his Hiſtory expreſſly of the HEBREWS, and therefore could not reaſonably be expected to diſturb the order of it, by treating of things Foreign to his purpoſe, and which had no relation to that People, not even the moſt diſtant.

As to the two Objections which follow, it is well known, that different climates have a ſurprizing effect, not only upon the Conſtitutions, but upon the Tempers and manners of Men; inſomuch that every Nation has it's peculiar genius, as well as it's particular Complexion and Cuſtoms. And that ſome Animals ſhould delight in one part of the World rather than another,

is so far from being a Wonder, that almost any Country, nay, the different Parts of our own Kingdom will furnish us with Instances of it.

The next is equally Spurious, and built upon a false supposition, as is likewise it's consequence; since the best modern Geographers agree, that if AMERICA is not join'd to ASIA by an Isthmus or neck of Land, at least, it is only parted from it by a narrow straight, over which Men might cross in Boats, or both they and wild Beasts might pass over when it was Frozen.

Having thus shewn the notion of the AMERICANS having been *Aborigines* to be entirely groundless, as well as contradictory to Scripture, which expressly tells us, that of *them*, (*i. e.* of the Sons of NOAH) *the whole Earth was overspread*. We now come to examine, by whom and at what time this vast Continent was Peopled, and how it came to remain for so many Ages undiscover'd to the rest of the World.

In order to this, it will be necessary first to enquire, what Knowledge the Ancients had of AMERICA, and whether we cannot find some Traces of this New World among them.

The first Witness we shall call is *Ælian*, who in his third Book says, that SILENUS told MIDAS, *That besides EUROPE, ASIA and LIBYA (or AFRICA) there was another vastly large Continent, in which were great Cities, and People of different Laws and Customs from the rest of Mankind; and where there were immense quantities of Gold and Silver, which were less esteem'd there than Iron*. Now this SILENUS was the Companion of BACCHUS, in his Indian Expedition; and as the BACCHUS who went

into INDIA, was no other than the Great SESOSTRIS, or SHISHAK King of EGYPT, and Brother-in-law to SOLOMON, who, in the fifth Year of REHOBAM, sack'd JERUSALEM; the Knowledge of AMERICA must, at least, be as early as that time; tho' we make no Question to prove it much earlier.

Let us next hear the divine PLATO, a witness of as much probity as Wisdom and Learning, who tells us, *that in the Atlantick Ocean, the Phœnicians found an Island as large as all Asia and Africk, which they call'd Atlantis; and expressly declares, that he writes no Fable, but a true History.* To which may be added that Crantor, Plato's first Interpreter, looks upon the story as undoubted matter of fact; and Proclus cites one Marcellus, an Æthiopian Historian, who relates it in the same manner as Plato.

The great Islands mentioned by Apuleius, on the Authority of Aristotle and Theophrastus, were, no doubt of it, either the Continent or Islands of America. And to the same must be apply'd what Avitus says in Seneca, *Fertiles in Oceano jacere terras, ultraq; Eum, rursus alia littora, alium jacere Orbem.* In the Ocean there are many fertile Islands, and beyond it other Shores and another World. As also that remarkable Passage in the Medea of the same Philosopher, if that Piece be his.

——— *Venient Annis*
Secula seris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxat, & ingens
Patrat Tellus, Typhisq; novos
Detegat orbes, nec sit Terris ultima Thale.
 Tho'

— Tho' late, the Age will come,
In which old Ocean shall throw down
His watry Barriers, and to birth
Shall give another and a mightier earth;
Then by new *Typhons* shall new Worlds be
found,
Nor *Thule* be the Earth's Extreamest bound.

This was no Poetical excursion or random Prophecy, as some have pretended, but the result of a Tradition which continu'd long after his time; as appears from what we find in *Amianus Marcellinus*, an Author of a later date, who says, *there was an Island in the Atlantick Ocean larger than all Europe.*

'Tis true, some of these Writers represented this vast Island as no longer existing, but imagin'd it sunk in the Ocean; because the way to it was no longer known in their Days, the Occasion of which we shall explain hereafter.

Many other Evidences might be brought, to prove that *America* was not unknown to the Ancients; but as those we have already produc'd seem sufficient, we shall spare ourselves and our Readers that trouble, and proceed to examine, by whom and at what time it was first Inhabited. For there have been many Migrations thither at different times, and by different Nations.

That the first was within a few Ages after the Flood, and either from *China* or *Japan*, will appear no way improbable, if, together with the Situation of these Places, we consider, how soon the Eastern Parts of the World were croud-ed with Inhabitants above any other; occasion'd, no doubt by the residence of *Noah* amongst them.

For

For *Ararat*, on which the Ark rested, was not in *Armenia*, but on the borders of *India*; and those who went to *Shinaar* were only a Colony, led thither by *Nimrod*; for that *Noah* was not among the rebellious *Builders of Babel*, is plain, from the Silence of *Moses* concerning him.

We may therefore venture to affirm, that *Noah* with the greatest part of his Family, fix'd his abode in the Countries round about *Ararat*, where he spent the rest of his Days in governing his numerous Descendants; and in all probability was no other than the Great *Fohi*, the first Emperor of *China*; which whoever considers what the *Chinese* relate of this Emperor, and the Agreement in point of Chronology, will be farther confirm'd in.

The early increase of Mankind in these Parts (a matter of fact not to be contested, and which we have endeavoured to account for) obliged them, without doubt, to send forth frequent Colonies, even during the Life of *Noah*. For we read in *Eusebius* and Saint *Austin*, that no more than three hundred Years after the Flood, an Army consisting of some Millions, was fitted out by *Staurabates*, a King over some part of *India*, against *Semiramis* Queen of *Babylon*. And this must have been fifty Years before the death of *Noah*.

Now, if what we have advanced be true, that frequent Colonies must have gone abroad even during the Life of *Noah*, it must certainly be most natural to suppose, they were sent out by him, or by his direction. And can we imagine none of them went to *America*? Is it possible the good old *Patriarch*, who received the whole
World

World as the gift of God, and convers'd with him, should be ignorant of the largest and most valuable part of that Gift? That great Alterations were made in the World, and Countries torn one from another by the Deluge, is certain; but it is as evident, that these alterations had no effect upon his knowledge of them; for if they had how came he so well acquainted with *Europe* and *Africk*, for example, which he had seen no more than *America* after the Flood, as to make such an exact division of them, with their respective Islands, among his Posterity; or if he was not ignorant of *America*, as surely he was not, is it credible that he who was so careful to fulfill the Command of God in replenishing the other three parts of the Earth, should utterly neglect this, by much the largest and richest?

Not only Probability therefore, but necessity and the fitness of things make it highly credible, that the first Migration into *America* was within a few Ages after the Flood, and directed by *Noah* himself, who, no doubt, taught the building of Ships to all his Children, but in particular to those among whom he liv'd, as he had the most frequent opportunities of doing it. And this may be no bad account why the *Chinese* pretend to so much Antiquity in this Art as well as, all others. The Ships they use (which are far from despicable) they tell us, have been of the same make for Ages; and tho' we have Liberty to call the truth of it in Question, yet we must allow, it is more than we can contradict.

Nor is it impossible, considering the Scituation of the Countries we have been speaking of,
but

but this first Colony to *America*, might find a nearer Passage from *Japan*, perhaps by Land. For *F. Caron* in his description of *Japan* (where he resided from a Child) says, it is uncertain whether *Japan* be an Island or part of some Continent, and that the Major part of it is unknown even to the *Japonesse* themselves. That after having Travel'd twenty seven Days Journey towards the South-East, from the Province of *Quanto*, in which is the *Metropolis Iedo* the Seat of the King, you come to the Promontory of the outermost Province *Isunga*, whence passing a Straight of about eleven Miles, you arrive at the Land of *Jesso* or *Sesso*, which is exceeding large and Mountainous, and has never yet been fully discover'd by the *Japonesse*, by reason of it's vast extent and the want of Provisions; tho' it abounds with precious Skins, and Furs. He further adds, that it is but thinly Peopled, and that the Inhabitants are Long-hair'd, with thin Beards like the *Chinese*, and extreemly brutish and Barbarous. To this Place the *Japonesse* cross over in little Boats.

Now why, as *Hornius* observes (from whom this is cited) may not this Land of *Jesso* be either the Continent itself of *America*, or at least some Island not far from it; since the description of the Natives is so agreeable to that of the *Americans* thereabouts.

Nor must we forget what *J. de Laet* says, who delivers it at his Opinion, that the junction of *America* with our Continent is somewhere without the *Artic Circle*, about *Cathay*; which Corresponds very well with this account of *F. Caron*. The same *de Laet* also observes, that this
Place

Place is near enough to the Mountains, where the *Ark* rested after the Deluge, to account for a very early Passage into *America* out of *Asia*.

But whether *America* was Peopl'd from *China* and *Japan* so soon after the Flood or not, it was certainly traded to, and inhabited by both those Nations many Ages before the Discovery of it by the *Europeans*, which is Evident; both from the Testimony of the Natives themselves, and from our own *European* Discoverers.

Thus, the *Epicerini*, a People of *Canada*, affirm'd at our first discovery of them, that far off, to the West of them, there liv'd another People who told them, that foreign Merchants without Beards often came to their Coasts; And who could these be, if neither *Indians* nor *Chinese*? In *Quatulca* also, there was a clear Tradition of foreign Merchants, who us'd to come thither from the Westward and were cloathed in Silk. And *Vasquez de Coronado* tells us, that in *Quivira*, there were Ships found whose Sterns were adorn'd with Gold and Silver, which every one knows is usual in the Ships of *Japan* and *China*; and in *Acosta* we find the *Spanish* Admiral *Melendez* affirming, that several *Chinese* Ships were found wrackt in the *Mare del Nord* above *Florida*; tho' it's possible these might be the same with those abovementioned.

The Course kept by these Ships, 'tis like, was to Sail under the Tropick of *Cancer*, and so to come first to *Quivira* or *California*, whence Coasting along the Shore, they went down into *New-Spain*, &c. The Wind is commonly favourable for such a Voyage, and *Hornius* affirms, it may be and usually is perform'd in about fifty

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or sixty Days. Nor can we doubt the sufficiency of the *Chinese* Ships for such an undertaking, since we are told by the *Nubian Geographer*, that they frequently Sail'd into *Arabia*, and others say into *Africa*.

But what we have advanced, will appear still more evident in the Names, Customs and Traditions of the *Americans*, many of which are undeniably Oriental.

Thus, in the Island of *St. Trinidad*, says *Hornius*, there is a place called *Ker-Japan*; and there were a People in *America* call'd *Chipaneca*, which, in sound, is much the same with *Japan* or *Japonese*.

Tonus, in the Language of *Japan*, signifies the Sun, Moon or Stars; and likewise Princes. And the *Mexicans* call the Sun *Tanaticus*, and the Moon *Tona*; and in *Hispaniola*, *Taino* signifies a noble or Prince. Also the Word *Montezuma* or *Motezuma* is plainly *Japonese*; and as it was the usual title for the Emperors of *Mexico*, so *Motazaiuma*, in *Japan*, is the common Appellation for their Princes.

Then, as to the *Chinese*, there are many Names of Places plainly derivable from them.

In *Mechoacana*, a Province in *Mexico*, is a City call'd *Zintzonta*, which is manifestly *Chinese*; *Tzintzon* being a usual Word in that Language. And near to the same Province of *Mechoacana*, there are two Cities call'd *Maucbao* and *Campao*, as there are two in *China*, call'd *Macao* and *Campa*.

Next, as to Customs and Manners, those of the *Mexicans* were found very agreeable to those of the *Chinese*. The *Mexicans*, for example, had large

large Cities, their Streets divided into Squares, and adorn'd with Stately Buildings; they had Castles, Towers, Palaces, and Places (like Inns) for the Entertainment of Travellers, built at the publick Cost; all which perfectly correspond with the Customs of *China*, and other Parts of the East. The *Peruvians*, 'tis true, had no Mortar, fewer Towers, and those not very high; but the *Mexicans* had both Mortar (or a cement Equivalent to it) Edifices of Marble, and Towers of a vast height; insomuch that *Cortez* declar'd he never beheld any thing so grand and Magnificent, and that their Cities exceeded any in *Europe*, both for Magnitude and Splendor.

Then, as to their ways of disposing of their Dead, one of which was by Sepulture or burying in the Ground, and the other by burning: In the former of these, the Body was always kept just fifteen Days at the House of the Deceas'd, where a Feast was held all the while, which is exactly the Custom of the *Chinese*. Their manner of Saluting their Princes, and going out backward from their Presence, was also the same with that of the *Chinese*; and the Titles of their Kings were conceiv'd in the same lofty Stile. In *Mexico* as in *China*, their Senators or Palatines were usually Twelve, and sometimes ten. The Ensigns and Standards of the *Chinese* were *Dragons* and *Serpents*, and such were those both of the *Peruvians* and *Mexicans*. The way of Writing among the *Mexicans* was also like that of the *Chinese*; their Letters were the Pictures or Characters of things, and their Paper was made of the inner bark of Trees. And of this kind of Books they had

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innumerable

innumerable Volumes treating of Agriculture Plants, and the Heroic Actions of their Ancestors; all which were Burnt and destroy'd by the insolent and brutal *Spaniards*.

'Tis also observable, that the *Mexicans* cultivated the same Arts as the *Chinese*; and in particular, had *Geographical Tables*, or a kind of Maps of their Country very large and Curious. They were likewise so skilfull in making Fire-Works, that they seem to have been acquainted with a Composition, at least, something like Gunpowder; which the *Chinese* had certainly a Knowledge of many Ages before it was discover'd in *Europe*.

As to their Traditions, besides those already mention'd, they had many others to confirm what we have asserted, viz. That *America* receiv'd part of it's Inhabitants from the *East-Indies*; but of these we shall only instance two or three, because they seem to fix the *Æra* of the rise of the *Mexican* and *Peruvian* Empires.

Motezuma told Cortes, That they were originally Strangers, and came from Foreign Parts, from the East, in the Fleet of a great Prince, so long ago that the Memory of the time was lost. But the highest account the *Mexicans* could give of themselves, reach'd no further back than three hundred Years. Now it is remarkably for our purpose, what we learn from *Paulus Venetus*, that, about the Year of CHRIST 1268; the *Chinese*, being driven out of their Country by the Invasions of the *Tartars*, fled into certain remote Islands and there remain'd; and that their King *Facfur* provided for this Expedition 1000 Ships, and took with him a multitude of People.

Now

Now, as *Hornius* observes, these remote *Islands* could neither be *Japan* nor *Java*, for both those were well known to *Paulus Venetus*, and 'tis plain thy could not be the *Philippines*; because there is not the least remain there of the Manners and Customs of *China*, and the Inhabitants are of another make and Language. Wherefore it's next to certain, that these remote *Islands* could be no other than *America*, or the Isles adjoining. 'Tis likely *Facfur* and his Fleet landed first on *California*, whence they might go to the Continent in Boats; and indeed the *Mexicans* had a Tradition which confirms this; for they said, that their Ancestors came over an Arm of the Sea, in Canoas into *Atzlane*; by which they meant the Sea between *California* and new *Mexico*, and which the *Spaniards* call *Mare Vermeio*. 'Tis also observable, what is taken Notice of by almost all the Writers on *America*, that about *California* there were found a People, that spake nearly the same Language with the *Mexicans*, and had the same Laws, Customs and Manners; which, no doubt, were the Remains of those *Chinese* that Marry'd and fix'd in or about *California*, while their main Body went over to the Continent, and settl'd themselves among the *Navatlaca*, upon the Lake of *Mexico*.

The *Peruvians* reported, that they were Savage, liv'd in the Woods, and eat Man's flesh; till, about four hundred Years before they were Conquer'd by the *Spaniards*, one *Manco* or *Mango* came to them from their Father the Sun, and taught them a better and more civiliz'd way of Life. And from this *Manco* was descended

scended the whole Line of their *Incas*, *Yncas*, or *Ingas*.

Who this *Manco* was I shall not pretend to determine; but that he was a Foreigner is certain, and, as *de Laet* observes, must have come thither with a good Fleet, and a good Army too, or he could never have subdued so numerous a People, nor have reduc'd them to any Form of Government. However if I may be allowed to guess at his Country, I should imagine him to have come either from *Cathay*, which borders upon *China*; or from the vast Region of *Mangi*, which was once united with *Cathay* into one Kingdom belonging to the *Chinese* Empire. And I am the rather inclin'd to this opinion, because, tho' the Palaces of their *Incas* and their Buildings were exactly in the *Chinese* taste, yet they were nothing near so magnificent as those of the *Mexicans*; neither were the *Peruvians* so polish'd in their Manners, tho' they had several *Chinese* Customs amongst them; which makes it plain to me, that as the *Mexicans* deriv'd their Original from the *Chinese*, so the *Peruvians* deriv'd theirs from some of those Countries near *China* which border upon *Tartary*.

Having thus endeavour'd to point out the several Migrations into *America* from *China* and the *Indies*, we now come to shew what other Nations appear to have sent Colonies thither.

We are told, that the famous *Atlas* or *Nep-tunè* (who, as we have already said, was an *Egyptian* and the Inventor of Shipping) having pass'd the Straights, call'd by the Ancients *Hercules Pillars*, and coming into the Ocean, gave the Name *Atlantick* to it, which it retains to
this

this Day; and from him it was that *America* was call'd *Atlantis*; but whether he was ever there to impose that Name himself, or whether it was so call'd by the *Phanicians* who sail'd thither afterwards, we shall not venture to determine.

But that the *Phanicians* had a very early acquaintance with *America*, and especially with the Northern parts of it, may be evidently gather'd, not only from the Testimonies of the Ancients, but from several Words and Customs found amongst the *Americans*, which plainly speak a *Punic* Original.

We have before observ'd, that after the Invention of Shipping in *Egypt*, the *Phanicians* were the first People who carried Navigation to any considerable height. Now, as this Invention of Shipping in *Egypt* happen'd while the *Isarelites* were in Bondage there, or rather a little before, no doubt but the *Phanicians*, when afterwards expell'd their Country by *Josuah*, and forc'd to seek new Habitations, would make use of their Skill in this Art (by that time vastly improv'd) to secure their Retreat. And therefore the Opinion of some learn'd Men, that many of these fugitive Canaanites pass'd at that time into *America*, is far from being improbable; especially if to this we add, *the Terror of the Sword of the Lord*, which persu'd them so close, that they hardly believ'd themselves safe at any distance; as appears, not only from Scripture, but from *Procopius* an *Heathen* Writer, who tells us, that near *Tingri* or *Tangier*, there were two Marble Pillars, with this Inscription in the *Phanician* Language and Character; *we fly from the Face of the Robber Josuah, the Son of Nun.*

However

However, it is probable, that the *Canary* Islands and the *Azores* were Peopl'd by them; for *Strabo* expressly says, that the *Phanicians* entering the *Atlantick* Ocean built Cities beyond the *Herculean Straights*. Now the *Canary* Islands are those call'd *Fortunate* by the Ancients; and it must be observed, that they did not derive their Name a *Canibus* (as *Gomara* imagines, because, when first discover'd, no Dogs were found there) but a *Chananaïs* from the *Canaanites* or *Phanicians*; of whose Voyages to the *Fortunate Islands*, frequent mention is made amongst the Writers of Antiquity. From the *Canaries*, it was as easy for them to go to *America* as to return back; and that they did so in effect appears from *Pliny*, and others who tell us, that when the *Fortunate* or *Canary* Islands were first discover'd, they were found uninhabited, but full of the Ruins of vast Buildings, which shews they had been well Peopl'd formerly.

But whether their Acquaintance with *America* was so early as the time of *Josuah* or not, it could not be many Ages after, it, to the Testimonies of *Ælian* and *Plato*, which we have already produc'd, we add that of *Diodorus Siculus* who tells us. " That the *Phanicians* did very anciently Sail beyond *Hercules Pillars*, along the " *African Coast*; where meeting with Storms " and Tempests, they were carried to the remotest Part of the Ocean, and after many " Days came to a vast Island, many Days Sail " from *Lybia*, and lying very far West. This " Place had a fruitful Soil, navigable Rivers, " and sumptuous Edifices. And hence it was " the *Carthaginians* came to the Knowledge of " these

“ these New Lands.” And in another Place he says, “ That the *Carthaginians*, finding they “ were often sorely prest with Wars by the “ *Tyrians* and *Mauritanians*, took Shipping, “ pass’d *Cadiz*, and Sail’d to this new Region “ in the *Atlantick* Ocean, and planted a Colo- “ ny there ; but kept the discovery a long while “ secret, that if they should ever be driven “ again from their native Soil, they might have “ this place to retreat to.” Now these Passages are both very remarkable, and ’tis plain, without doing violence to them, can be meant of nothing but *America*, to which the Description of *Diodorus* perfectly well agrees.

There were also several Words and Customs, found amongst the *Americans*, which were peculiar to the old *Phanicians*, and might of themselves be sufficient to prove the early knowledge those People had of *America*.

Thus about the *Isthmus* of *Darien*, as *Peter Martyr* and *Gomara* both observe, there were the Words *Ab-raibas*, *Abibeibas* in use ; and in *Jucutan* *Ab-dola* ; in *Guadalaira* was found the Word *Bar-cimeca* ; in *Nixapa* *Balderoci* ; and in *Cumana* *Beradochi*. And it’s remarkable, that the three last *Indian* Kings in *Jamaica* were call’d *Beroica*, *Ben-Beroica*, and *Aben-Beroica*. Also in *New-Spain* they had the Names *Abenamagos*, the Grandson of *Mago* ; *Ben-Ommian*, the Son of *Ommia* ; the first an eminent *Carthaginian* Family, and the other an *Arabian* one. There is likewise in several of their Words a plain derivation from the famous *Phanician* word *Anak* ; as in *Anakyuz*, the proper Name of an *American* Prince in *Caribana* ; and in *Anax-*

rat, a Word they have in *Paria*; and *Ana-kaona*, another they use in *Aiti* or *Hispaniola*.

'Tis well known that *Cham*, *Jupiter Hammon*, *Baal* or *Belus*, was the antient Deity of the *Phanicians*; and of this there were some remains found in *Jucatan*, where they call'd one of their old Prophets *Chila-cham-baal*. Nor must we forget, what seems to me very observable, that the Natives of *New-England* call'd the *Septentriones Mosk* and *Pankunaw*, which in their Language signifies a Bear; for, as there is not the least resemblance between this Animal and that Constellation, it is highly probable, they were taught to give it that Name by the *Phanicians*, who did call it so, and from whom many of the Names of the Constellations are deriv'd.

Then as to their Customs, we find in *Josephus*, in his first Book against *Apion*, that the *Phanicians* us'd to Cut or Shave off all their Hair, except one Lock upon the Crown which they tied in a Knot; and just so the *Nicaraguaians* and the *Jucatanese* wore theirs. *Gomara* tells us, that in the *Isthmus* of *Panama* the dying Kings us'd to kiss the Feet of their Successors, which was an old *Phanician* Custom.

We are likewise told by *Porphyry* from *Sanctoniathon*, that it was customary with the Ancient *Phanicians* to sacrifice great Numbers of their Children to their Gods, and to use, for a form of Adoration, kissing their Hands, cutting their Flesh, and letting out their Blood: The two former of which Customs were common in *Peru* and *Jucatan*, and the other in *Mexico* and *Nicaraguay*.

Eusebius

Eusebius also proves from the same *Sanchoniathon*, that the paying divine Honours to such departed Persons as had distinguished themselves for any noble Action or Invention was an old *Phœnician* Practice; and this the Inhabitants of *New-England* had amongst them.

'Tis likewise observable, that about *Manta*, *Tragaanacus*, and the lake *Titicaca* in *Peru*, there were found several very large, Splendid and excellently wrought Buildings, of a round form, and Arched over like an Oven or Tent, exactly like the old *Punick Mapallia*; and of these the Natives could give no Account, only that they were very Ancient, and built long before the *Incas* were possess'd of the Government of *Peru*.

But to Trace all the Footsteps of the *Phœnicians* in *America* would be an endless Task, and therefore we shall only Observe, that in the many Voyages made by those People thither, its probable, that some Time or other they might take some *Egyptians* with them; (unless any one had rather suppose these last might go there under the Conduct of *Atlas*) for, in *Peru* and *Nicaraguay*, there were several odd Customs found which were peculiar to the *Ægyptians*; as particularly, that the Husband should Spin, Sweep and Wash the House, while the Wife did all the Business abroad; and that the former should make Water, *Genubus Inflexis*, the latter *Corpore Erecto*.

Having thus shewn, that *America* was of old well known to the *Phœnicians*, and in part peopl'd by them, the Reader, no doubt, will wonder

der how this Knowledge should ever be lost to their Successors; but his surprize in this respect will immediately cease, if he reflects upon what we before quoted from *Diodorus Siculus*, viz. "That they kept the Discovery as an inviolable Secret, intending to retire thither, whenever the Calamities of War should force them again from their Native Soil." And that the *Carthaginians* pursu'd the same Maxim, and probably for the same reason, is evident; for *Hornius* tells us, "They forbade all Manner of Navigation thither by a publick Edict, and under the most severe Penalties; excluding, not only other Nations as the *Tyrthani*, &c. but also their own People from Sailing into the *Atlantick* Ocean; which they could easily do, being Masters of the Straights." Now, this not only Accounts for the loss of the Knowledge of *America* amongst the later *Phanicians*, but also shews us a probable Cause, how the *Americans* came to lose almost all remembrance of their Original, and to degenerate into that Wildness and Barbarity, in which they were found by the *Spaniards* at their first Discovery of them.

But tho' it is certain the *Phanicians* were the first People that Sailed out of the *Mediterranean* into the *Atlantick*, and so into *America*, yet there are strong Presumptions that the *Spaniards* went thither afterwards; for we learn from divers Authors, that they fitted out Ships on purpose to make Discoveries in the *Atlantick* Ocean. And *Plutarch* tells us, that *Sertorius* went out expressly on that

that Design. Nor is it unlikely what *de Laet* and *Hornius* imagine, that the *Spaniards*, being harass'd and prest with the *Punick War*, took some *Carthaginian Ships* with *Hanno* for their Pilot and Captain, and sought new Seats for themselves in the *Atlantick*. We read, that plain Wrecks of *Spanish Ships* have been found in the *Arabian Gulph*; and no doubt, they might much easier Sail to *America* than thither. And *Strabo* affirms, that the *Spaniards* were antiently *Pirates* in the *Atlantick Ocean*: And it appears from several passages in the same Author, that the *Spaniards* about *Cales* had Anciently great Ships, were very Skilful in Navigation, and did more than once Sail round *Africa*, as *de Laet* observes in his Answer to *Grotius*. Wherefore it is, at least, very probable, that the *Spaniards*, when expelled their Country by the *Romans*, might fly first to the *Canaries*, or other Islands in the *Atlantick*, and thence into *America*; and indeed this Opinion seems confirm'd by *Strabo* himself, who in his third Book tells us, that when the *Phanicians* Sail'd to the *Islands Cassiterides* (by which he means the *Azores*) "They found the
" Inhabitants to be Wanderers, long-beard-
" ed like *Goats*, cloathed in long black Gowns,
" that they walked with Staves, were de-
" sirous of Peace, and wholly given to Ma-
" ritime Affairs." Which is exactly such a Description as *Athenaeus* gives of the Manners and Habit of the Ancient *Spaniards*.

The next eminent Migration into *America* we believe to have been from *Scythia*; by which

which we understand what the *Greeks* Anciently called by that Name, viz. all that vast Tract of Land which lies Westerly, Northerly and Easterly of the *Caspian* and *Euxine* Seas. And this, as *Hornius* observes, might be effected two ways, both Eastward and Westward, and that either by Land, over some *Isthmus* which joins the Continents, or over some narrow Straights of the Sea.

Those who travel'd towards the West, might go first to the Banks of the River *Oby*, and so to the Shore of the Frozen Sea, up towards *Nova Zembla*; from whence into *Groenland* it is an easy Passage of about four Days Sail; there being many Islands interspersed in the way, which are readily passed to by such Boats or Canoes as are now us'd in *Groenland*, &c. and probably are all, in the Winter, approachable on the Ice. Now, whether *Groenland* be part of the Continent of *America* (as is generally suppos'd) or not, it cannot be far from it; and 'tis Observable, that the *Norwayans*, when they first discover'd that Country, found there People in Shape, Colour and Manner of Life vastly different from themselves, but exactly like the old *Scythians*, *Tartars*, *Laplanders* and *Northern Americans*. And we are told by *Forbisher*, that about the Straights which bear his Name, he found Men with broad Faces, flat Noses, large Nostrils, long black Hair, of an Olive Colour, with little or no Beard, and in form just like the *Samojeds* or *Tartars*; all which duly, consider'd, seems to put it beyond a Question, that they were all
of

of the same Original, and that the Northern Parts of *America* were Peopled by the *Scythians* and *Tartars* this way.

'Tis also Remarkable, that the Animals found in these Places are alike too; there being in all of them vast Numbers of White Bears that feed upon Fish; and these, 'tis highly probable, came out of *Groenland* into *America*, because in the Southern Parts of *America*, about the *Terra Magellenica*, there are none ever found. Nor is it Foreign to our purpose, what *Arngrimus* asserts against *Bleskenius*, as cited by *Hornius*, viz. "That
" in *Island* there are no Bears but what
" come over from *Groenland* on the Ice." And, that those Creatures will not only Travel a great way on the Ice, but also Sail on Pieces of it, the Navigators into these Northern Parts do confidently affirm.

Nor must we forget what the same Author cites from one *Bibaldus Pirckhaimerus*, a German Writer, who says, "That there of-
" ten came into *Groenland*, from the Nor-
" thern *Terra Incognita* and the *Frozen-Sea*,
" certain Savage and barbarous Men called
" *Caroli*, in great Numbers, on the Account
" of Trade and Merchandize; and that its
" there taken for granted, that they came
" from the other Side of the *North Pole*." Now these *Hornius* would have come from *Tartary*, over the Ice when the Sea is Frozen, rather than round about by the Pole; of which Parts, indeed, we know nothing certain at all.

'Tis also worthy Observation what *George Fournier* remarks, viz. "That 'tis certain many People come Yearly from *Nova Zembla*, by the *Frozen-Sea* and the Island *Vaigast*, into *Muscovy*, to Traffick with the *Samojeds* and *Tartars*; and therefore (says he) we need not doubt but People might Anciently pass that way into *America*; for here *Europe* and *Asia* are separated from *Nova Zembla* in *America* only by a little Straight." To which we may add what *Vasquez de Coronado* and *Martin Forbisher* affirm of their own Knowledge, "That in *Groenland*, and above *Cibola*, the People use Dogs instead of Horses, as 'tis well known the *Siberi* of *Russia*, and all the *Finlanders* and *Laplanders* upon the *Frozen-Sea* were accustomed to do.

The Passage by the East is still shorter and easier, and, as the Regions thereabouts were most Populous, seems to have furnished *America*, especially *North-America*, with the greatest part of its Inhabitants. How far the *Tartarian Capes* stretch out to the Northward is not yet exactly determin'd, but *Hornius* computes it to be to the 70th Degree of Latitude, and our Maps, since then, have made it three or four Degrees yet more North: And the King of *Sweden's* Mathematicians found *Norkum*, or the *North Cape* of *Lapland*, to lie in 72 Degrees 30 Min. However it is generally agreed, that *Asia* and *America* are here divided only by a Straight, which seems confirm'd from what the *Dutch* have observed in their Navigations to *Nova Zembla*

Zembla, &c. For in the Straights of *Nassaw* they found a double Tide, or a meeting of two Tides, one of which set Eastward, and the other Westward; just as hath been observ'd in the *Magellanick* Straights, the *Baltick*, and in our own Channel; and when they were past *Waigatz*, they came into another Salt and blue Sea. To which we shall add what *Paulus Venetus* affirms, that 'twas usual to Sail from the Continent of *Barga* to the Isles in the Frozen Sea; and why not into *America*? Which cannot be far from thence.

It has also been conjectur'd, that *America*, especially the Northern Part, receiv'd most of the Animals with which it abounds by the same Passage, such as *Deer, Lions, Tygers &c.* And it must be allow'd this is the more probable, because there are none of these Creatures to be found in *Groenland* (nor the *Terra Magellanica*) and every one knows that the *Tartarian* Desarts were always famous for them, as well as for a vast variety of Strange and uncommon Birds, such as are now found in *America*.

Hornius assigns two Causes for this Rambling of the *Scythians* and *Tartars* into *America*, viz. The Multitude of their People, and their continual Wars; for, in this last Case, the Vanquish'd or the Weaker Party always fled as far as they could from the Conquerors, for fear of being Eaten by them. For, that the ancient *Scythians* us'd to Eat their Enemies, we learn from *Pliny*, where he tells us, *ab Anthropophagis Scythis omnia deserta fuisse usque ad Tabin, quod Ejus Gentis*

Ferociam Sustinere nemo posset. That is, "the
 " *Scythian Man-Eaters*, or *Cannibals*, made all
 " the Country desert as far as *Tabis*; be-
 " cause no body durst abide the brutal Cruel-
 " ty of those People." And the same is
 related of them by *Ammianus Marcellinus*;
 " The *Man-Eaters*, says he, made all Places
 " desert wherever they came; all the People
 " flying before them, and seeking new Ha-
 " bitations, as far out of their way as they
 " could get." Now, to the abovemention-
 ed Causes, we think, a third may be added,
viz. the violent Passion the *Scythians* and
Tartars have always had for the Hunting of
 Wild Beasts; for, as *Bonfinius* justly remarks,
 it was this which first brought them out of
 the interior *Asia* into *Europe*; and why might
 not the same Eagerness after their Game
 as well led them into *America*? We know
 very well that they never had any fixed
 place of Abode, but chang'd their Camps as
 the Season of the Year, their Game, the Wa-
 ter or Woods invited them, never staying
 long in a Place, but continually seeking new
 Habitations and new Regions to Hunt in.
 Wherefore it is, at least, highly probable,
 that this, or indeed any of the abovemention-
 ed causes, or rather every one of them at
 different Times, might draw them into *Ame-*
rica, either by some *Isthmus*, if there be any
 such, or a-cross some narrow Straight, over
 the Ice. And this last may receive some
 Confirmation from what *Rubriquis* affirms of
 the *Tartars*, " That they use to invade, in
 " the Winter, the Islanders call'd *Tautæ* and
 " *Manfæ*

“ *Mansæ* in the Frozen Sea, up above *Tartary*, getting over to them upon the Ice.” And the same Practice, *Olaus* assures us, was in use amongst the ancient *Sueci*.

As to the particular Times of these Rambles of the *Scythians* into *America* we are very much in the Dark, nor shall we pretend to guess whether any of them were before the Voyages made thither by the *Phanicians* or not. That some of them were very early is probable, not only from the Nature and Reason of Things, but because, as *Hornius* observes, there were evident Remains, found in *America*, of the Names of two very ancient Nations of the *Scythians*. About *Florida* were a People call'd *Apalatci* and *Apalcheni*, whom he concludes to be the Descendants of the *Apalai* mentioned by *Salinus*, and who are join'd by that Author with the *Massagetae*; from which last the *Mazateca*, one of the oldest Nations of *New-Spain*, and the *Massachusetae* in *New-England*, seem plainly to have taken their Names. The other are the *Tambi*, a very ancient People in *Peru*, whom *Hornius* thinks to be derived from the *Tabieni* of *Ptolomy*, and to have given name to the *Promontory Tabis*.

But the greatest and most Eminent Migration of the *Scythians* into *America* happen'd, as he supposes, about the Year of CHRIST 400, at which time the Affairs of the *North* were in the utmost confusion, and they so overstock'd with People, that they rambl'd almost every way; and indeed it is probable no considerable Colony pass'd from *Sythia*

into *America* much earlier; because the *Northern* Parts of *America*, which these *Sythians* Peopled, were much thinner of Inhabitants than the Southern Regions. Nor is it a slight Confirmation of this, the Account the *Americans* gave of the *Chichimeca*, a barbarous People, who in their Hunting and Wandering kind of Life, and many other Customs, were exactly like the old *Scythians*; for these People, they said, came into *Mexico* about the Year 700 after CHRIST, according to our way of Computing. So that if they went from our World in the Year 400, they might very well, in the 300 Years they spent before they reach'd *Mexico*, People the Northern Parts of *America*, after the thin Manner the *Spaniards* found them Inhabited; for *Purchas* positively tells us, that all *Virginia*, *New-England*, and all the Countries up to the Pole, had not so many People as were then in *London*.

The *Scythian* Nations which he thinks sent Colonies into *America* about this Time, or immediately after, were the *Hunni*, *Alani*, *Turca*, *Tartari*, *Mogoles*, *Parthi*, and a great many others, of which frequent mention is made in the *Ancient Geography*.

The *Hunni*, he observes, were a barbarous People bordering upon the *Mogoles*, and the same with the *Cuni*, *Cunchi*, or *Cunadi*; and these, he thinks Peopled and gave Name to *Canada* in *America*; and it must be own'd the derivation of *Canada* from *Cunadi* is very Natural; as is also that of the *Hurons*, a Nation near *Canada*, from the *Huyrones* a People

People mention'd by *Vincentinus*, in his *Speculum Historiarum*, as being Neighbours likewise to the *Mogoles*. From the *Alani* he derives the *Tallanes* in *Peru*; and the *Inga*, an ancient *American* Nation, from the *Unga* an old *Tartarian* one. Then, as *Herodotus* speaks of the *Napæ* and *Pali*, two eminent *Scythian* Tribes, he concludes that the *Nepi* in the *Island Trinidad*, came from the former, and the *Otapali* in *Florida* from the latter; as also that the *Parthi*, or, as *Strabo* calls them, the *Parii* Peopled the Region of *Paria*.

From the *Iyrca* of *Herodotus*, who were the same as the *Turca*, 'tis probable the *Iroquoi* of *America* might come, and the *Souriquoi* too, if what *Leunclavius* affirms be true, that the *Hyr cani*, who descended from these ancient *Iyrca*, were call'd in their own Language *Tzuruki*. To which we may add, that the *Mexicans* call'd God *TEU*, which *Nicephorus* says was the Name of the Deity among the *Turca*; and in *Mexico* the Word for a Mountain was *Tepec*, and among the old *Turca* *Tepe*.

The ancient *Tartars* were the same with the *Mogoles* or *Moales*, and of these there are evident remains in *America*. About the *Rio de la Plata* there are a People expressly called *Mogoles*; and in *Cinaloa* another call'd *Tamogali*. The Provinces adjoining to the *Mogoles* in *Asia* are *Cotan*, *Baita*, and *Tangur*; and in *America* you have almost the very same Words, as *Coton* in *Chili*, and *Coto* in *St. Martha*, *Paita* in *Peru* (a slight change

change from *Baita*) and *Tangora* and *Tangarala*, the Names of two other Places likewise in *Peru*.

Hornius also gives several Instances of the Agreement between the *American* and *Tartarian* Names of Towns and Cities, which it would be too tedious to insert here, and particularly urges the *Tartarian* Termination *an*, with which the *Mexicans* end so many of their Words, and especially the Names of Places, such as *Teutitlan*, *Petutlan*, *Coatlan*, *Hazatlan*, &c. as a strong Argument that the *Tartars* must have Peopled some of the Parts thereabouts. He likewise remarks, that among the *Scythians*, *Huns*, &c. it was common for Proper Names to begin with the Particle *Al*; and that the Particle *ax* was frequently added to the Names of their Princes among the old *Turks* and *Tartars*. The first of these, he tells us, was practised in *Jucatan*, and the adjoining Parts of *North-America*; and, that the other was a common Custom among the *Americans*, he shews from the Names of several of their Princes, such as *Stalderax*, *Almorax*, *Mereb-ax*, and *Nag-atax*; and says, that in the preceding Age, there was a King reigned in *Quivira*, whose Name was *Tatarax*; in which besides the Particle *ax*, there is expressly the Word *Tatar* or *Tartar*. He farther adds, that one of the most ancient Names in the Kingdom of *Mexico* was *Atzlan*; as that of *Mango* was among the *Peruvians*, as having belonged to their Founder; on which he observes, that the former is purely *Turkish*, one *Atzlan-beg* being

being Prince of *Carasina* in *Notolia* about the Year of CHRIST 1300; and that the latter was a common Name among the *Tartars*, whose 4th. Emperor was a *Mango*.

Let us next consider the Customs and Manners of these *Scythians*, *Huns* and *Tartars*, and how far they Correspond with those of the *American* Nations we suppose derived from them. The ancient *Fenni*, who were certainly descended from the *Scythians*, are thus described by *Tacitus* at the end of his Book *de Moribus Germanorum*. *Fennis mira Feritas, fæda Paupertas, non Arma, non Equi, non Penates; Victui Herba, Vestitui Pelles, Cubile Humus, Sola in Sagittis Spes, quas, inopia Ferri, Ossibus asperant. Idemq; Venatus Viros pariter ac Feminas alit; passim enim comitantur, Partemq; Prædæ petunt; nec aliud Infantibus Ferarum Imbriumq; Suffugium, quam ut in aliquo Ramorum nexu contegantur. Huc redeunt Juvenes, hoc Senum Receptaculum. Id beatius arbitrantur quam ingemere Agris, illaborare Domibus, suas alienasq; Fortunas sperneruq; vertere; securi adversus Homines, securi adversus Deos, rem difficilissimam affecuti sunt, ut illis ne voto quidem opus sit.* “The *Fenni* are a Savage People, of a wonderful Fierceness, and a Poverty which disgraces Human-Nature; they have neither Armour, Horses nor Gods; they feed on Herbs, are cloathed with Skins, and lie on the Ground; their Arrows are the only Providence they rely on, and these, for want of Iron, they head with sharp Bones. Their Women as well as Men live altogether

“ gether by Hunting, for the former always
 “ accompany the latter, and share in the
 “ Prey; nor have their Infants, in the mean-
 “ time, any other defence against Storms
 “ and Wild Beasts than the Boughs amongst
 “ which they hide them. Neither Young
 “ nor Old have any other kind of Home;
 “ and this way of Life they esteem much
 “ happier than to Work in the Fields, or in
 “ Houses; or than the being continually a-
 “ nxious how to get Wealth or preserve it.
 “ Thus, without the Fear either of God or
 “ Man, they have obtained the most rare
 “ and difficult Happiness, *The not having a*
 “ *wish beyond what they possess.*” And much
 the same account *Ammianus Marcellinus* gives
 of the old *Hunni*; adding that they have no
 Beards even in old Age, that they are a
 thick, Strong, short kind of People, and are
 very deformed. Both which Descriptions
 agree so exactly with the *Chichimeca*, *Che-*
riguana, and others in *North-America*, and
 with the *Brazilians* in the *South*, that one
 would imagine they were designed on pur-
 pose for them. For there is no Nation in
 the World that ever equal’d the Barbarity
 of these *Americans*, except the *Scythian No-*
mades; nor were there ever any *Anthropophagi*,
Cannibals, or *Man-Eaters* any where but among
 the *Scythians* and *Americans*: Which I think
 is no inconsiderable reason to suppose, that
 these Inhabitants of the *New World*, which
 were thus unnaturally barbarous, must be
 deriv’d from those Parts of the *old*, where
 such abominable Things were only practis’d.

We

We learn from *Paulus Venetus*, that in *Cangigu* the *Scythians* us'd to paint their Faces and Bodies with the Images of Birds, Beasts, Dragons, &c. So that they could not be Washed out ; and the People of *Virginia* and *Florida* were found Painted after the same Manner ; as also the Inhabitants of the *Eastern-Islands*. The *Hurons* and *Floridans* had likewise the *Scythian* custom, Mention'd by *Herodotus*, of always carrying about with them a part of the Skin of one of their Enemies, whom they sometimes slay'd Entirely, and us'd their Skins for Mantles. The same *Herodotus* tells us, that tho' *Polygamy* was usual amongst the *Scythians*, yet there was one Nation of them, viz. the *Massagetae*, who were content with one Wife ; and so likewise in *America*, the *Mazatecae*, a Name not much unlike the *Massagetae*, with the *Pinoles*, the *Otomies*, and the *Chichimecae*, four of the most ancient *American* Nations, kept to one Wife.

The *Scythians*, and in particular the *Massagetae*, us'd to kill those they thought incurable, to put them out of their Pain ; and the *Parthi* or *Parii* us'd to expose dying Persons in the open Fields, to be devour'd by the Wild Beasts and Birds ; and both these Customs were found in *America*, the first among the Wild *Canadians*, and the other in several Parts of the Continent.

The eating the Bodies of dead Relations was a Custom as unaccountable as unnatural ; and *Strabo* tells us, this was us'd by the *Massagetae* and *Derbices* ; and, no doubt, with

those barbarous People it past into *America*; for we find it was practis'd by the Inhabitants of *Vanezuela*, and the *Chiribuanis*, a Nation beyond the *Andes* in *Peru*, as *Garcilasso* assures us. 'Twas likewise a known Custom amongst the old *Scythians*, to place at the *Sepulchers* of their dead, Meat, Drink, Arms and Money; and this was also done by the *Americans*. And as the *Scythians* us'd to let out their Blood, and cut themselves with Lances, when they made a League or Solemn Covenant; and sometimes even to testify their joyful reception of a Person; so did the *Jucatanese* and the People of *New Albion*. And that very odd Fashion which the *Scythians* about *Tebet* had, of giving their Brides to be enjoy'd by another was found amongst the Inhabitants of *Nicaragua* in *America*.

The *Inga* or *Peruvian* Princes wore *Diadems* or *Turbants* of various-colour'd Cloth, wound four or five Times round their Heads, were very rarely seen by their Subjects, and made them fall prostrate before them; and when any King or Prince died, the *Mexicans*, *Peruvians*, *Floridans*, *Canadans*, *Darienses*, &c. us'd to Slay a certain Number of his Slaves, Domesticks, Captives, &c. that they might attend upon him in the other World; and us'd to bury, not burn their Dead; all which Customs, it is well known, were exactly those of the *Scythians* and *Tartars*. The *Brazilians*, in particular, had three very odd ones, which plainly speak their Original; for first they Shav'd their Heads on the top like *Monks*, after the manner of the ancient *Tartars*.

tars. 2. Their way of Eating their Enemies was the same with that of the *Tartars*; for both did it *in Terrorem*, call'd all the Neighbourhood together; then solemnly slew the Captives, and Boiling or Roasting them, delivered a piece to every one present, to excite his rage and hatred against those with whom they were at War. 3. In *Brasile* the Child-bed-woman, as soon as ever she was brought to Bed, rose, and went about her Family Affairs, as if she had not been deliver'd of any Child at all; when instead of her the Husband is put to Bed, pretending to feel pains, to be weak and out of order, and to be recover'd again gradually by gentle and nourishing Physick. Which last ridiculous Custom was practis'd among the *Arcladani* in the extream Parts of *Tartary*, as we learn from *Paulus Venetus*.

That particular punishment for Theft, which *Oviedo* and *Gomara* tell us the Old *Aitanians*, or Inhabitants of *Hispaniola* us'd, which was *impaling alive*, was likewise of Ancient use among the *Turcæ*, *Tartari* and *Persæ*, and that cruel out-of-the-way Trick, which the *Groenlanders*, *Cinaloenses* and *Nicaraguani*, were found to play with their Children, of Cutting and Slashing their Cheeks into great Gashes, when they were very young, was also frequently practis'd among the *Hunni*; who are said to have done it to render their Males beardless. Now all *America* is beardless, except three Nations; and we have already observ'd that the *Tartars* have no Beards at all, or but very thin ones.

The Food also of the *Americans* Corresponds with that of the *Tartars*, their Bread being *Maize* and their Drink *Chica*; which latter, says *Hornius*, is a sort of Broth made of *Pulse*, which they Drink hot; and this was undoubtedly the chief Diet of the *Turks* and *Tartars*; for this *Maize* and *Chica* are us'd no where in the World but in *America* and *Scythia*: And, as *Acofta* remarks, *Maize* is expressly call'd *Fru mentum Turcicum*. 'Tis also observable, that tho' *America* abounds with Vines, yet they never had any Vines there, any more than in *Tartary* or *Cbina* formerly, whatever they may have now.

Nor must we forget, that the *Americans* were very famous for their wearing of Feathers, the reason of which seems to have been the vast variety of beautiful Birds which the *New World* affords; and that this was an ancient Fashion among the old *Turca*, *Tartari*, *Garamantes* and *Lycii*, we are told by *Herodotus*, and other Writers of Antiquity.

Then as to Religious Rites, the *Americans* worship'd the *Sun* and *Fire*, the old *Deities* of the *Scythians*, *Turks* and *Tartars*; and in *Mexico* there was a perpetual Fire kept in the Temple. The *Americans*, and particularly the *Mexicans*, us'd also to offer the Hearts of Human and of other Sacrifices to their *Deities*, as was practis'd by the *Tartars*. And it is remarkable what is taken Notice of by *Hornius*, that the *Obdora* and *Condora*, worship an *Idol* called *Zlotta-baba*, which was of Stone, in the shape of a Woman,

man, and scituate on the Banks of the River *Oby*; and that they us'd to Sacrifice Animals to it, and to besmear all the parts of the *Idol* with their Blood. Now of this there were evident Remains found in *America*; for at *Pipeles* in *Guabutimalla* there was a Stone Image worshipped in the form of a Woman; and in the *Isthmus* of *Darien* there was a Female *Deity* call'd *Da Baiba*, to which they paid mighty Honours; and there is a plain agreement in the Names *Zlotta Baba* and *Da Baiba*.

The great *Grotius*, I am sensible, excepts against this opinion of the *Scythians* peopling *America*, because no *Horses* were found there at the first Discovery of it by the *Spaniards*; which yet the *Scythians* were always famous for. But to this it may be answer'd, that the *Scythians*, when they advanc'd so far *North*, as to the Passage by which they went into *America*, would find their *Horses* entirely useless to them; neither indeed is it likely they would live there. For on the *Icy Ocean* there are vast Numbers of *Scythians*, says *Hornius*, descended from the *Hunns*, and other Nations famous for *Horses*, who are now entirely destitute of them, not being able to use or keep any there: Wherefore, instead of them, they use their *Rangiferae* or *Rain Deer*, and great *Mastiff-Dogs*: Which Custom (to confirm what we have advanced) is found in several Parts of *America*. *Grotius* also, supposing there is no way by Land into *America*, objects that the *Scythians* were no Navigators, and so consequently

quently could not get thither. But this seems to be a mistake in Fact; for *Diodorus Siculus* mentions a Sea-fight between the *Amazons* (who were *Scythians*) and the *Atlanti*, and *Hornius* tells us, that the *Heruuli*, whom *Zozimus* reckons among the *Scythians*, possessed themselves very early of *Thule*. The same Author also says, that in the East, the *Tartars* had a Fleet of 15000 Ships between *Corcangui* and *Caigui*, where the River *Comoron* runs into the Sea; and that this was in the Time of their Emperor *Kublai*, before their taking of *Mangi*, which is *China*. And we learn from *Ludovicus Frois*, in his account of *Japan*, that the *Japonefe* report of the *Jeze* or *Tartars*, that they Sail'd from the Continent to the Island of *Mateumai*, which is 15000 Paces from the Kingdom of *Lageran* in *Japan*. As to the manner of their Navigation it is thus describ'd by *Thuanus Lib. 67*. " When in their Rambles, says
 " he, they come to an Arm of the Sea, or
 " a Streight, they kill their worst Horses
 " (perhaps now render'd uselefs) and with
 " their Skins turn'd the wrong side outward,
 " and their Ribs instead of Timber, they
 " make themselves Boats, which they sow
 " together with their Horses Hair, large
 " enough to hold eight Men a-piece, and so
 " cross over." Now here is not only a Confirmation of the possibility of their getting into *America*, but also another Reason assign'd why they took no Horses with them. The very same Objection of no Horses having been found in *America*, at its first Discovery
 has

has likewise been oppos'd against the Opinion of its having received part of its Inhabitants from *China* and *Japan*, but in answer to this, *Paulus Venetus* expressly tells us, *There were then no Horses in China.*

Besides the above mention'd Migrations into *America*, we have an Account of the Peopling some part of it by an expedition from *Wales*, which it must be own'd has more than guesses to support it, and is as follows. *Powell*, in his History of that Country, tells us, that in the Year of CHRIST 1170. *Owen Guinneth* being dead, and his Sons contending for the Government, which was got from them by a Bastard, one of them, whose Name was *Madoc*, took Shipping, and sought for new Regions in the Ocean; that leaving *Spain* behind him, he bent his Course to the Westward, and discovered a new World where he found many wonderful Things. This, he came back, and told to his Countrymen, praising and extolling the Beauty and Fertility of the Place, which he found entirely uninhabited; and after that went again with a great Number of People of both Sexes, and settled Plantations there; and returning Home, went a third time with ten Ships, as *Hackluit* affirms. Now if this Account be true, and there is no Reason to distrust it, the Place *Madoc* went to must be *Virginia*, *New-England*, or somewhere thereabouts. In Confirmation of which *Peter Martyr* assures us, that the *Virginians* and *Guarimallians* used to celebrate the Memory of one *Madoc*, as an Ancient and great Hero amongst them.

And

And in another place he makes mention of the Words *Matoc-Zunga* and *Mat-Jnga*, as being in frequent use among the *Guatimalians*, in which there is a plain allusion to *Madoc*, and that with the *D* softened into *T*, agreeable to the *Welch* Pronunciation. These *Welchmen* mingling with the barbarous *Chichimeca*, one of the most uncultivated Nations in *America*, it is no wonder they should lose their native Language, and the memory of their Original in the space of two or three hundred Years.

Nor must we forget what we read, that the *Spaniards*, at their first discovery of *America*; found some Negroes there; in regard to which it is observable, what we are told by the *Nubian Geographer*, that some *Moors* were once fitted out from *Lisbon*, with Ships victualled for many Months, to make discoveries in the *Dark Sea* (for so the *Arabians* call the *Atlantick*) and after many Days Sail having found some Islands, they were driven by a Storm back to *Africa*, and thence return'd home *re infecta*. Now, it is probable this was not the only Voyage they made on this design, and that in some other they might be more successful. Or 'tis likely some *Ethiopians* might go designedly or be driven into *America*, a little before the Discovery of it by the *Spaniards*; for that it could not be long before is apparent, because, although some few Negroes were found in *America*, yet their Number was so small, and those confin'd to one place, that it cannot be supposed they could have been there any considerable

considerable time before the *Spaniards* found them in *Brasile*.

Having thus laid before the Reader every thing Material that has been said on this abstruse and difficult Subject, viz. *The first Peopling of America*; and that in as short and perspicuous a Manner as the Nature of it seems to admit; we hope the whole consider'd impartially and taken together, not only sufficiently proves our Assertion, *That America was Peop'd by Colonies from our World*, but also points out the particular Times of them with some tolerable Exactness.



C H A P. II.

The Voyage of COLUMBUS.

THIS fortunate Discoverer was born, according to some Writers, at *Cicurco*, in the Territories of *Genoua*, of an ancient House of great Reputation in the time of the Emperor *Otho* 2d. But others say he was born at *Savona*; and others again at *Narni*; for there is no agreement amongst them as to that particular, and this great Man, tho' he brought a new World to light, yet left the Place of his own Birth and Breeding in so much obscurity, that there needs another *Columbus* to find them out. However this is certain, that he conceiv'd a very early Passion for the Sea, and began both to trade, and make Charts for Sea Service, while he was still a Youth.

The *Fame* the *Portugueze* had acquir'd for their skill in maritime Affairs easily drew him into those Parts, with a design to improve his Knowledge and his Fortune. There he married a Wife, *Philippa Mumiz de Perestrello* (by whom he had his Son *James*) and Traffick'd to the Coast of *Guinea*. He had a competent Knowledge of most parts of *Litterature*, understood the Latin Tongue (no small Accomplishment at that Time) and was particularly Studious of the *Mathematicks*; being also in his Religion very devout, frequent

frequent in Prayer, observant of Fasts, temperate in Diet, modest in Attire, of a becoming Gravity, courteous in Behaviour, and an utter Enemy to all Debauchery and Profaness. Noble Preparatives to great and *Heroic* undertakings, and the only Passports which can entitle a Man to the care of that Providence which alone can crown our Endeavours with Success! For, as *Purchas* justly observes, it is in Earthly as in Heavenly Things, *The Secret of the LORD is with them that fear him, and the meek he will Guide in Judgment.*

What motives induc'd him to the Grand design he afterwards so happily accomplish'd we know not; *Gomara, Mariana*, and others report, that a certain *Pilot*, who had been driven by Strefs of Weather upon some of the *American Islands*, gave him the first hint of a new World there: But this is deservedly esteem'd the effect of *Spanish* envy; that People (as remarkable for Jealousy of Honour as Poverty of Merit) not being able to bear that an *Italian* should ravish this Glory from their Country. 'Tis probable, that his own Mathematical Reasonings might make him conclude, the Possibility of finding Inhabitants on the other side of the Globe; that, considering the vast Demensions of the Earth, (which are easily determin'd by the Principles of *Geometry*) and that the known World was circumscrib'd within very narrow Bounds; it was highly improbable, that all the rest of so vast a Ball should be cover'd with Water, and be an Habitation for Fishes, in-

stead of Men, who received at the first so peculiar a charge from the Almighty *to multiply and replenish it*. Then the Rotundity of the Earth persuaded him, that the *Indies* in the *East* might as readily be found by the West, by following the *Sun*, which he could never suppose appointed a circular course to shine for the chief part on nothing but Seas and Deserts. Experience had also taught him, both that of the *Portuguese* in their longer Voyages, and his own in his Trade to the West of *Spain*, that the Western Winds holding a constant course Yearly, and that also far off at Sea, could not but arise from some Lands further Westward than any yet known. And *Martin Vincent*, a *Mariner* who us'd the *Azores* and *Tercera Islands*, had told him, that he was once carried four hundred and fifty Leagues to the West of *Cape St. Vincent*, and there took up a piece of Wood or Timber wrought by Man's Hand, and that, as far as he could Judge, without Iron, and this he imagined must have come from some more Western Island. *Pedro Correa*, who married his Wife's Sister, had likewise signified to him, that at *Puerto Santo* he had seen a piece wrought after the same fashion, brought thither by the Westerly Winds; besides very large *Canes*, capable of holding two Gallons of Water in each Knot, which he sent him to see; and as none such grew in the known Parts of the West, and having read of them growing in *India*, he supposed they might be convey'd into those Parts by some violent Western

Western Wind, as the Timber had been. The Inhabitants of the *Azores* had also assured him, that certain *Pine-Trees* had been cast up at *Fayal* and *Graciosa* by strong Westerly and N. W. Winds; that, at another time, two *Canoas* had likewise been driven upon the Coast of *Floras*; and the like Number of dead Men who by their Faces larger than usual, and different favour, seem'd to have been Inhabitants of some remote and unknown Regions. *Antonio Leme* of *Madera* also asserted, that being carried in his *Carvile* far Westward, he had seem'd to see three Islands. And another of that Island had sued to the King of *Portugal* in the Year 1484, for License to discover certain Land which he declared he had seen every Year over-against the *Azores*. *Diego Velasques* likewise affirm'd to *Columbus* himself, that about forty Years before, having been driven very far to the West, he there observed the Seas and Winds such, as if Land could not be far off; and another *Mariner* told him of Land he had seen far West from *IRELAND*, and which is supposed to be that now call'd *Newfoundland*. *Petro Velasco*, in going for *IRELAND*, had also observ'd the like; and *Vincent Diaz*, a *Portuguese Pilot*, in his return from *Guinea*, thought he saw an Island in the height of *Madera*, which was sought for afterwards but without Effect. Many others gave in their Experiences to the same purpose, if not to *Columbus* himself, yet to the World and the Nation where he resided, so that he could not possibly miss the information.

Thus

Thus, being fully confirm'd in his Conjectures that a *New-World* lay somewhere or other conceal'd, his next care was to come at the sight of it: And in order thereto, to procure such necessary Encouragement and assistance, as might render his Attempts successful.

In the first Place, therefore, he open'd his design to his Countrymen the *Genouese*; but finding his Proposals not relish'd by them, and that *a Prophet had no Honour at Home*, he address'd himself, in hope of better Fortune, to the Court of *Portugal*. But the Project succeeded no better at *Lisbon* than it did at *Genoua*; and his Doctrine of a new World was much in the same reputation amongst them, as that of the Resurrection was formerly at *Athens*. The King's Mathematicians heard him with Scoffs and Banter, as the old Philosophers had done *St. Paul*; and his Proposal was in general looked upon as Vain and impracticable. However his Reasonings made so much impression upon some of the *Portuguese* Council, that they thought proper to advise the King to try whether he spoke truth or not. Whereupon a Vessel was sent out privately, under pretence of a Voyage, to *Cape Verde*, to look after *Columbus's* world, which not finding, and being Crossed with bad weather, they returned home without effecting any thing.

This Clandestine usage giving him a disgust against *Portugal*, he resolv'd to make one more Effort (notwithstanding all these discouragements) and that was to try the Temper and Inclinations

Inclinations of the *English*: And accordingly he sent his Brother *Bartholomew* to King *Henry* the Seventh; but this Messenger falling into the Hands of *Pirates*, was forc'd to sustain himself by making *Sea-Cards*, and not being so fortunate as to get a Speedy hearing of the King, matters were so long delay'd, that when at length his Suit was granted, and his Brother sent for, he had iped before in *Spain*. For *Columbus* weary with waiting an Answer from *England*, had apply'd himself to the Court of *Spain*, which was then engag'd in a War with the *Moors*; when after Dancing attendance above five Years, his answer was, that the Treasure of the Nation was so far exhausted by those Wars, that they could not enter into new Expences, but that as soon as those were over, they would better examine his Proposals and give him all possible dispatch.

Columbus, though extremely chagrin'd at this Answer, yet fail'd not in his Constancy. He apply'd himself to the two Dukes of *Medina Cali* and *Medina Sidonia* who became his Advocates; but to no purpose, for they could not be heard on his behalf. Twice he purpos'd (as his Son *Fernand Columbus* writes) to have put an end to his Fruitless endeavours in *Spain*, and to have gone over to his Brother to the *English* Court. But Providence order'd it otherwise; for at last the scene chang'd, and the Clergy undertaking his Cause it prosper'd in their Hands. *Columbus* was admitted to the Presence of
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their *Catholick Majesties*, where he had a favourable Audience and the full grant of his desires; Queen *Isabel* herself condescending to pawn her very Jewels to raise Money for the Expedition: So low, as *Purchas* observes, was the Treasure of *Spain* when God offer'd them the Western Treasury.

Columbus, having thus master'd this difficulty, observ'd the same Magnanimity in his demands as he had shown in his Perseverance; desiring no Reward, except his Discoveries were equal to his Promise, but then insisting on no less than the Office and Title of *Admiral* by Sea and *Vice-Roy* on Land, with the tenth of the Profits through all the Seas, Islands or Firm Lands whatsoever that he should discover; (to himself during his Life, and after to his Heirs and Successors) Which (says *Oviedo*) he enjoy'd whilst he liv'd; his Son Admiral *James* or *Don Diego Colombo* after him; and his Nephew *Don Lewis Colombo* at this Day. This agreement was concluded betwixt him and their *Catholick Majesties* in the Field before *Granada*, then besieged by them, in the midst of the Army, the 17th. of *April* 1492. As if God designed to reward with this *New World*, their Zeal in rooting out the *Moors*, who had possessed those Parts of *Spain* above 700 Years, to the great Scandal of Religion and detriment to the Christian Interest.

The Voyage thus resolv'd upon, it was not long before it was put in Execution. For the Court was now as forward in the Prosecution of the Design, as before it had been cool

cool and indifferent: *Colombus* had reason'd them all into such high Expectations of the Success of his undertaking, that they were as impatient for his going as he himself.

Accordingly, having got together a small Fleet of three *Caravels*, he set forth from *Palos*, on *Friday August 3d. Anno Dom. 1492.* Himself commanded the *Admiral* call'd the *Santa Maria*. *Martin Alonzo Pincon* was Captain of the *Pinta*; and his Brother *Francisco Martinez Pincon* was Master. And in the third Vessel, named the *Ninna*, *Vincent Yannez Pincon* was Captain and Master, who furnish'd half that eighth share of the expence which *COLUMBUS* had covenanted to contribute. These Officers had under their Command, in these three Vessels (some say) an hundred and twenty Men; but according to *Herara* no more than Ninety.

On the 11th. they had sight of the *Canaries*, where they stay'd to refresh themselves at the *Ile Gomara*; but hasted thence on the 6th. of *September*, for fear of the *Portuguese*, who had Mann'd out three *Caravels* to take them.

September the 7th. they lost sight of Land, and with that their Courages too; many of them, with Sighs and Tears, taking their leaves of it, as never expecting to see it any more. These Cowards *COLUMBUS* comforted as well as he could, with promises of rich Discoveries; and Sailing that Day eighteen Leagues, he reckon'd no more than fifteen, being oblig'd to cheat them thus in his Ac-

count, to make them believe they were not so far from Home as indeed they were.

On the 14th. he observed the Variation of of the Compass, which was the first time that *Phænomenon* had ever been considered; and which every Day grew more and more apparent.

On *Sunday* the 16th. they saw Grass and Herbs, floating on the Water in several Places, of a pale Green colour, and amongst them a live *Grasshopper*, which at first alarm'd them, imagining they had met with Lands sunk under Water; but this Fear soon gave way to the Hopes of their not being far from Land, which some were sanguine enough to affirm they saw.

The 19th. these Presages continu'd; besides which they saw an *Alcatraz* (a kind of a *Sea-Fowl*) and the next Day two, which, with the Grass encreasing, raised their Expectations of seeing Land, save that the Grass sometimes hinder'd their Sailing.

All this while the Wind had favoured their Voyage, but on the 22^d. of *September* it came cross at South-west; and now the *Spaniards* began to be downright impatient, murmuring that the former Winds, which had brought them thither, would never permit their return to *Spain*, and therefore, expecting soon to become a Banquet to the *Fishes*, they storm'd at their *Admiral*, plainly telling him, that he thought to make his fortune at the price of their Lives; that they had already done their Duty, Sailing further from Land than any had done before; nor ought

ought they to be guilty of their own Deaths, proceeding they knew not whither, till Provisions fail'd them, which already would scarcely hold out their Return, nor even their Vessels which began to be faulty and to want repair. Neither spar'd they the King and Queen themselves in their Passion, accusing them with Folly and Rashness, in listening to such wild Proposals, and sacrificing the Lives of their Subjects in such a random manner; and in Conclusion, threatened to throw COLUMBUS over-board if he would not return, being resolved to save themselves if they could, let who would perish. The *Admiral*, on the contrary, endeavour'd to allay this Storm with gentle Words, answering their insolent Threats with the Promise of rich rewards, on condition they would have a little more Patience; and, to cheat them farther into a good Humour, as he was talking with *Vincent Pincon*, he suddenly cry'd out (as it is suppos'd by Agreement) *Land, Land*, on the 25th. of *September*, which for the Present fill'd their Hearts with Cheer and Hope; but that Land proving nothing but Clouds, this calm was quickly succeeded by a more outrageous Storm than ever, the Result of which was, that COLUMBUS, having prolong'd the Time as much as possible, was forced to promise them to return if he did not discover Land in three Days, which was the utmost space the domineering Sailors would allow him.

The first of these Days, he perceived by the *Sun-setting* that Land was near; upon

which he commanded them to contract their Sails, and that same Night they saw Light. About two Hours after Midnight, one of the Company, nam'd *Rodrigo de Triana*, discovered Land. This happy sight was on the 11th. of *October, Anno Dom. 1492*. This, when it was Day, they found to be an Island of fifteen Leagues compass, plain and Woody, with a great Pool of fresh Water. It was one of the *Lucayans*, call'd by the Inhabitants *Guanahani*, but by them *San Salvador*, and was about 950 Leagues from the *Canaries*. Here they went ashore, and having Sung a *Te Deum* on his Knees, with Tears in his Eyes, COLUMBUS took solemn Possession of it, in the Name of their *Catholick Majesties* King *Ferdinand* and Queen *Isabella*, in the presence of *Rodrigo de Escovedo* Notary; the *Spaniards*, at the same Time, acknowledging him for *Vice-Roy*.

The Natives of the Place took them to be Men from *Heaven*, wondering very much at their Whiteness, Beards, and Cloathing; but above all at their Ships which they believ'd to be great *Animals*. The *Spaniards* gave them colour'd Caps, Glasse-Beads, and other Toys; for which they were well paid in Commodities of more value. These People were Naked, of a Middle-size, well-proportion'd Bodies, and had their Hair bound up; their natural Complexion was an Olive (like those of the *Canaries*) but Painted some Black, and some of other Colours, either in Part, or all over the Body, as best pleased every one's Fancy. They knew not
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the use of Iron, or of Weapons, but Innocently laid their Hands on the Edges of the *Spaniards* Swords. Their *Ile* abounded with *Parrots*, which were almost the only living Creatures seen amongst them. They truck'd for *Cotton-Yarn*, and had *Rings* of Gold in their *Nostrils*, which they told the *Spaniards* came from the South, where they would find a King very rich in that Metal.

On the 15th. of *October* they went to another Island, seven Leagues from thence, which they call'd *Santa Maria de la Conception*; the above-mention'd *Islanders* following them at their departure as far as they could, some in *Canoas*, and others Swimming after them.

The 17th. they Sail'd to *Fernandina*, the Women of which Place had short *Cotton-Coats*, from the *Navel* to the *Mid-thigh*, to cover their Nakedness. After this they went to another *Island*, which he nam'd *Isabella*, in Honour of the Queen, and of which (as of all the others) he took solemn Possession; obliging his Men in every Place to carry it justly and honestly towards the Natives.

Hence he pass'd to *Cuba*, and went on Shore, thinking at first it was *Zipango* or the *Asiatick Japan*, being deceiv'd by the Resemblance of Names. This place, he was told by the *Indians* he carried with him, afforded excellent Gold and Pearl, wherefore he sent two *Spaniards* and as many *Indians* to search the Country, who, lighting on an *Indian Town* of about 50 Houses, were extraordinary well treated there, the People kissing
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the Hands and Feet of the *Spaniards*, and honouring them with Incense as they went along, as if they had been Deities; and, indeed, the simple *Indians* believ'd them no less, till experience made them Wiser. Here they saw Plenty of *Cotton* growing of itself, with several sorts of strange Birds and Trees: But the Commodity the *Spaniards* most desir'd was the Gold which they saw the *Indians* wear in their *Noses*; and about this they were so curious as to ask them several Questions, to which the *Indians* as honestly answer'd, CUBANACAN; that is, they had it from the midst of *Cuba*; the *Spaniards* imagining (because of the Termination *Can*) that they had talk'd of the Great *Can* or *Cham* of *Cathay*.

Here, in hopes of great Success, *Martin Alonzo Pincon* left the *Admiral*, who quickly after left *Cuba* himself (which, in honour of the Prince of *Castile*, he call'd *Juana*) and went in quest of *Hispaniola*, which the Natives at that Time call'd *Hayti*. For having enquir'd for *Zipango* in *Cuba*, the *Indians* thinking he had meant *Cibao*, which is one of the richest Mines in *Hispaniola*, directed him thither. They here took a Woman, a Native of the *Island*, whom treating well, and presenting with Meat, Drink, and Cloths, he sent her back with some of his *Indians* to the rest of the Natives, where she became a very serviceable Agent on behalf of the *Spaniards*, of whom she reported so much Good, that a friendly Correspondence was soon settled between them and the *Indians*;

dians; the King of the Place, whose Name was *Guacanagari*, inviting COLUMBUS to come ashore. Here also he lost his Principal Ship, and erected a Fort (call'd the *Nativity*) upon the *Island*, to maintain the *Spanish* Pretensions and Authority, in which he left a Garrison of 38 Soldiers. After which, having reconcil'd himself to *Pincon* (the *Indians* who carried the *Admiral's* Letter to him imagining some Divinity resided in it) he made Preparations to return Home; charging his *Spaniards* to behave respectfully to *Guacanagari*, and obligingly to the rest of the *Indians*, without doing wrong to any one.

Accordingly on *Friday* the 4th of *January*, *Anno Dom.* 1493, they Sail'd from the Port of *Nativity*. In this Voyage, he declares, he saw three *Mermaids* leaping a good height out of the Sea, Creatures (as he says) not so fair as they are painted, somewhat resembling Women in the Face; of which at other times, he affirms, he had seen several on the Coast of *Guinea*. And now much more of the Coasts of that large *Island Hispaniola* came under their view, which they carefully observ'd; and gave Names to divers *Capes* and *Harbours*. COLUMBUS is also said, in this Voyage, to have taught the *Spaniards* several *Astronomical* observations of great use in Sailing, and particularly in regard to the Winds, he being the first, as it is thought, who remark'd the Regularity of the *Monsons* or *Trade-Winds*.

It was somewhere in these Parts (for he put into several other Places to Traffick with

with the *Indians*) that a Quarrel happen'd betwixt the *Spaniards* and the *Natives*, which came to a small Skirmish; but this Breach was soon made up, and the controversy ended by the Submission of the *Indian King*, who sent them his Crown of Gold, with useful Intelligence and Plenty of Provisions into the Bargain.

From this Place, which they call'd the *Gulf de las Flechas*, or of Arrows, they set Sail on *Wednesday* the 17th. of *January*, making the best of their way Homewards; in which 'tis Observable, that as in their way from *Spain* to the *Indies*, having the Wind favourable, they reckon'd far fewer Leagues than they Sail'd, so in their return they accounted many more, COLUMBUS's Reckoning being 150 less than theirs.

In *February* a violent Tempest overtook them, in which Peril, all other Remedies seeming to fail, they had recourse to our *Lady's* Assistance, vowing *Pilgrimages* in honour of her if ever they came safe to Shoar. For this they cast Lots, the first of which fell on COLUMBUS himself, to go to *Guadalupe*; the Second to *Loretto*, on *Pedro de Villa*; and a Third vow was common to all, to March in solemn Procession in their Shirts, to the first Church of our *Lady* they came at. Yet had they Sunk, the World might possibly have been inform'd of their Discoveries; for COLUMBUS (whose Diligence is no less to be commended than his Devotion) had provided against all Accidents, by Writing an Account of his Voyage at large
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in Parchment, which he folded in *Scur-Cloth* and put into a Barrel; intending to commit it to the care of Providence, by throwing it into the Sea, whenever necessity should require. And fearing that might never be taken up, he made another Pacquet like the first, and plac'd it at the top of the *Poop*, to the end that if the Ship sunk, the Cask might take it's chance, remaining still above Water.

But that Providence on which he rely'd still shew'd itself his Protector; for on *Friday* the 15th. of *February*, at break of Day, one *Ruy Garcia*, from the Round Top, saw Land bearing E. N. E. from them. The *Pilot* and Seamen imagin'd it to be the Rock of *Lisbon*, but the *Admiral* concluded it was one of the Islands *Azores*, and tho' they were at no considerable distance from it, yet they could not come to an Anchor that Day, by reason of the Weather. At length, in plying about, the Wind being East, they lost sight of that Island and discover'd another, about which they ran struggling, against Wind and Weather, a long Time before they were able to make Land, as COLUMBUS himself informs us in his Journal; " On *Saturday* the 16th of *February*, at Night, I
" arrived at one of those Islands, but could
" not tell which of them it was by reason
" of the bad Weather. That Night I took
" a little Rest, because from *Wednesday* till
" then, I had never Slept, and was lame of
" both my Legs, having been continually in
" the open Air and Wet, nor was it a little
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“ that I suffer’d from the Scarcity of Pro-
 “ visions. Upon *Monday* Morning, being at
 “ an Anchor, I learn’d from some of the
 “ Inhabitants, that it was the Island of St.
 “ *Mary’s*, one of the *Azores*, and all of them
 “ were struck with admiration that I had
 “ escaped, considering the terrible Storm
 “ which had held for 15 Days, without in-
 “ termission, in these Parts.

These People being informed of the *Admiral’s* discoveries pretended to rejoice, praising God, and three of them came aboard with some fresh Provisions and a Complement from the Governor, who was at the Town, up in the Island; for about that Place, there was nothing to be seen but an *Hermitage*, which, as they said, was dedicated to the *Blessed Virgin*. Whereupon the *Admiral* and all his Crew, remembering the Vow they had made the *Thursday* before, to go bare-foot and in their Shirts, to the first Church of our *Lady* they came at, were of Opinion they should here perform it; especially as it was a Place where the People and Governor express’d so much Tendernefs for them, and as it belong’d to a King who was so great a Friend to the King of *Castile*. Wherefore the *Admiral* desir’d those three Men to return to the Town, and cause the Chaplin who had the Keys of the *Hermitage* to come and say *Mass* there. This they consented to, and went into the *Caraval’s* Boat with half the Ship’s Crew, that these might perform their Vow first, and being come back, the rest might go and do the like. But no sooner

sooner were they landed, barefooted and in their Shirts, according to their Vow, but the Governor, with abundance of People from the Town, who lay in Ambush, treacherously rush'd out upon them, and made them Poisoners, taking their Boat, without which he thought the *Admiral* could never get away from him.

The *Admiral* waited with Patience till about Noon; but no Men returning (whereas they went off by break of Day) he began to suspect some Misfortune had befallen them, either at Land or Sea. Therefore, not being able to discover the *Hermitage* from the place where he lay, he resolv'd with his Ship to Sail about a Point whence the Church could easily be seen; which having done, he saw a Number of Horsemen, who dismounting, went into the Boat in order to attack the *Caraval*.

The *Admiral* thinking it high Time to stand upon his Guard, commanded his Men to be in a readiness and arm'd, but to make no shew of Resistance, that the *Portuguese* might come the nearer. As soon as they drew near the *Admiral*, the Captain of them stood up, and demanded a Parley, which the *Admiral* immediately granted, thinking he would, perhaps, come on Board, which if he did, he thought he might secure him without Breach of Faith, since his own Men had been imprison'd without Provocation.

But the *Portuguese* would venture no nearer than to be heard, when COLUMBUS told him, " That he was surpriz'd at his irregu-

lar manner of treating him, and to see that none of his Men came back in the Boat, since they were gone aboard upon a safe Conduct, and the Proffer of Relief; and especially since the Governor himself had sent to welcome him. He therefore desired him to consider, that besides his doing an Action against the Laws of Honour, and which an Enemy would scorn to be guilty of; the King of Portugal could not chuse being highly offended at it, whose Subjects, when they Landed in the Dominions of their Catholick Majesties, or resided there, were treated with the utmost Humanity and Civility, and were as safe as they were in Lisbon itself; that besides the King and Queen of Spain had given him Letters of Recommendation to all Princes, Potentates, and Governments in the World, which he would shew him if he would draw nearer; therefore since such Letters were receiv'd with respect in all Parts, and he and the King's Subjects well treated on their Account, they ought to be much more so in the Dominions of Portugal, their Princes being such near Neighbours and Allies; and especially as he was Admiral for Spain of the Ocean and Vice-Roy of the Indies he had discover'd; all which he was ready to shew him under their Majesties Hands and Seals." Accordingly, at that distance, he shew'd his Commission, and told him, "He might draw near without Apprehension, for that their Catholick Majesties, in regard to the Amity between the two Crowns, had strictly commanded him to pay the utmost Civility to such Portuguese Ships as he met; adding, that though
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he should persist in keeping his Men, yet that would not prevent his returning to Spain, he having still Men enough to carry the Ship to Seville, and to avenge himself into the Bargain if he forc'd him to it; that every one would think he merited Chastisement, and that his King would be sure to punish him as giving Occasion for a War between him and their Catholick Majesties."

The Captain and his Men answer'd, that they neither knew their Catholick Majesties, nor their Letters, nor fear'd them; but that they would make him know what Portugal was; which Answer made the Admiral suspect some Breach had happened between the two Crowns since his departure, which he blamed himself for not having first enquir'd into. At last, as the Boat was retiring the Captain stood up, when at some distance, and told the Admiral he might go to the Harbour with his Caraval, for that all he had done was by order of the King his Master.

The Admiral hearing this, call'd all that were aboard to bear Witness, and calling to the Captain and Portuguese, Swore he wou'd never return from thence till he had taken 100 Portuguese and destroy'd the whole Island. After this he came again to Anchor in the Port, the Weather obliging him to it; but the next day the Wind still encreasing, and the Place where he lay being unsafe, he lost his Anchors, and was forc'd to stand out to Sea, towards the Island of St. Michael where if he could not come to Anchor, he was resolved

solved to run it out at Sea, not without manifest Peril, as well because the Sea ran high, as by reason he had but three able Seamen left, and some *Grummetts*, all the rest being Land-men and Indians who understood nothing of Sea-affairs. But Supplying the want of the Absent with his own Person, he passed that night with much Fatigue and Danger; when perceiving, as soon as Day appear'd, that he had lost sight of the Island of *St. Michael*, and that the Weather was calmer, he resolv'd to return to the Island of *St. Mary*, to endeavour to recover his Men, Anchors, and Boat. He came up with it on *Thursday* the 21st of *January* in the Afternoon, and presently after the Boat came off with five Men and a Notary, who, upon Security given, all went aboard, and it being late, lay there all Night.

The next Day, they told the *Admiral*, that they were sent by the Captain to know whence the Ship really came, and whether they had the King of *Spain's* commission or Not; which being produc'd, they profess'd themselves ready to show all Manner of Friendship, which they did because they could seize neither the ship nor the *Admiral*, and were afraid of being punish'd for what they had already done. The *Admiral*, suppressing his resentment, thank'd them for their civil Offers, and shew'd them moreover their Catholick Majesties General Letter of Recommendation, directed to all his Subjects, and to those of other Princes; after which the *Portugeze* went ashore well satisfy'd, and soon after dismissed the Seamen,

Seamen, with their Boat, from whom they learn'd, that it was reported in the Island, that the King of *Portugal* had sent Orders to all his Subjects, to secure the Person of the *Admiral* by any means Whatever.

On *Sunday* the 24th. of *February*, the *Admiral* set Sail from the Island of *St. Mary's*, having a fair Wind for the Voyage, though he was in great want of Wood and Ballast, which he could not take in by reason of the badness of the Weather.

But on the 3^d. of *March* such a violent Tempest arose, that after Midnight it Split their Sails, which exercis'd their Devotion afresh, and occasion'd another vow of *Pilgrimage*; and this was to send one of their Company, barefooted and in his Shirt, to our *Lady of Cinta* at *Guelva*; when the Lot fell again upon *Columbus*, as if his Vows were more acceptable to Heaven than those of others, or, at least, the Exercise of his Patience more agreeable.

Thus they run on without a Rag of Sail, but with bare Masts, a mighty Sea, high Winds and frightful *Thunder*, each of which seem'd enough to destroy the *Caravel*; when, about Midnight, it pleas'd God to give them a Sight of Land, which offer'd no less danger than the rest; for to avoid being beaten to Pieces, or running into Places where they might not know how to get off, they were forc'd to make Sail, to bear up against the Storm till Day, which appearing, they found they were upon the Rock of *Lisbon*; and here *Columbus* put in, to the great astonishment

ment of the People of the Country and the Seamen, who ran from all Parts to behold, as it were some Wonder, a Ship that had escap'd so terrible a Storm.

It was on *Monday* the 4th. of *March* that he came to an Anchor in the River of *Lisbon*, whence he immediately dispatch'd a Messenger to their *Catholick Majesties* with the News of his Arrival, and another to the King of *Portugal* desiring leave to go up to Anchor before the City, the Place where he was not being safe, against any that should attempt to injure him, especially if they did it on pretence of the Kings order, as believing by his Ruin they might put a stop to the King of *Spain's* Success.

The next Day the Lieutenant of a great Guard Ship, that lay in the Harbour, came with his Boat full of Arm'd Men to the *Admiral*, requiring him to come along with him to give an Account of himself to the King's Officers, as was practis'd by all Ships that came into that Harbour. To which he answer'd that the King of *Spain's Admirals*, of which he was one, were not us'd to obey such Summons, or to leave their Ships to give an account of themselves to any Body, and that he was determin'd to do his Duty. The Lieutenant then desir'd him at least to send his *Boatswain*; but the *Admiral* reply'd, it was still the same Thing, whether he sent another or went himself, and therefore it was in vain to expect any such Thing from him. The other, being sensible he was in the Right, desir'd him at least to show him the King of
Spain's

Spain's Letter, that he might satisfy his Captain, which, being a reasonable request, the *Admiral* immediately granted, and shew'd him their *Catholick Majesties* Letters, with which he appear'd pleas'd, and went back to his Ship, to give an Account of what had happened to his Captain *Alvaro de Acunna*, who presently after came on Board the *Admiral* in great State with *Trumpets, Drums, Fifes, &c.* Expressing much kindness, with Liberal offers of Service.

The next Morning it being known at *Lisbon*, that the Ship came from the *Indies*, such Crouds of People went aboard to hear News, and see the *Indians* (whom, with other Things, *Columbus* had brought with him as Testimonies of his Discoveries) that the Vessel could not contain them, and the River was cover'd with Boats, some Praising God for so great Happiness, and others storming and fretting, and openly accusing their King of Incredulity, by whose means they had lost the Benefit of so rich a Discovery.

The next Day, the King sent the *Admiral* a Present of all sorts of Refreshments, and at the same Time order'd his Officers to supply him with every Thing he stood in need off, either for himself or his Men, without asking any Pay.

The *Admiral* at first was not a little perplex'd at this Invitation; but considering that the King had treated him exceeding Courteously, that he was in Amity with their *Catholick Majesties*, and besides, not being

willing to provoke ill usage by too much Distrust, he Landed, and went to *Valparaiso*, 9 Leagues from *Lisbon*, where the Court was at that Time.

He came thither on *Saturday*, being the 9th. of *March*, at Night, when the King order'd all the Nobility of his Court to go out to receive him, and being brought into his Presence, did him singular Honours, commanding him to put on his *Cap* and sit down, and having with pleasure heard the particulars of his successful Voyage, offer'd him all he stood in need of for the Service of their *Catholick Majesties*; but at the same Time told him, that forasmuch as he had been a Captain in his service, he thought those Discoveries and conquests belong'd to him. To which the *Aamiral* answer'd, that he was sensible of no such Agreement with his Majesty, but that he had strictly observ'd his Orders which were to go neither to the *Mines* of *Portugal* nor to *Guinea*. After some Time spent in Discourse of this Kind, the King Commanded the *Prior* of *Crato*, the most considerable Person about him, to entertain the *Admiral*, and to treat him with all possible Civility and Respect, which was as generously perform'd as enjoin'd.

Having stay'd here all *Sunday*, and *Monday* till after *Mass*, the *Admiral* took leave of the King, who express'd a particular Kindness for him and made him large offers, ordering *D. Martin de Noronha* to conduct him back, with whom went many other Gentlemen for Company to Honour him, and hear an Account of his Voyage.

The

The *Queen* also, being then in a *Monastery* by which he must pass in his return to *Lisbon*, sent to intreat he would not pass by without seeing her, whereupon the *Admiral* waited upon her, and was received in the most obliging manner, having all the Favour and Honour shewn him that was due to the greatest *Lord*. And the same Night a Gentleman came to him from the King, to let him know, that if he chose to go by Land into *Spain*, he would provide him Attendance, and Lodgings all the way, and Furnish him with all Necessaries as far as the Frontiers of *Portugal*. But this the *Admiral* declin'd, chusing rather to return his Thanks for the Favour than accept it.

On *Wednesday* the 13th. of *March*, two Hours after Day-break, the *Admiral*, impatient of any longer stay, set Sail for *Sevil*, and on the *Friday* following at Noon, arrived at *Saltes*, and came to an Anchor in the Port of *Palos*, whence he had set out on the 3^d. of *August* the foregoing Year 1492, having been just 7 Months and 11 Days upon his Voyage.

Here he was received by all the People in Procession; praising God for his wonderful Success, which promised such a plentiful Harvest to Christianity in General, and such a vast increase of Dominions to their *Catholic Majesties* in particular; all the Inhabitants of the Place esteeming it a singular Advantage that the *Admiral* set out from thence, and that most of the Men he took with him belonged to it, though several of them, through *Pincons* Instigations, had been very Mutinous and troublesome.

Now it happen'd that when the *Admiral* came to *Palos*, *Pincon* was already arrived in *Galicia*, designing to go by himself to *Barcelona* to carry the News to their *Catholick Majesties*; but they, having intelligence of the Envious Temper of the Man, sent him strict Orders not to come thither without his *Admiral*, with whom he had been sent to discover, at which he was so Mortify'd and concern'd, that he returned Sick to his Native Country, where in a few Days he died of Grief or rather of Envy, that infamous Passion (like all others when carried to Excess) being as certain a Poison to the Body as to the Mind.

But before his Arrival at *Palos* the *Admiral* was set out for *Sevil*, intending to go from thence to *Barcelona* where their *Catholick Majesties* were, in which Journey he was forced to stop very often, though for never so little a while; to satisfy the Admiration of the People, who all the way he went, ran in Crowds from the Neighbouring Towns and Villages, down to the Road to see him, with the *Indians* and the other (at that Time strange and unusual) Things he brought.

In this Manner he got to *Barcelona* about the middle of *April*, having before sent their Majesties a particular Account of the happy Success of his Voyage, which was an Extraordinary pleasure to them; wherefore, considering the eminent Service he had done them, they ordered him a most Magnificent Reception, all the Court and City going out to meet him; and their *Catholick Majesties* themselves

themselves sitting in Publick in great State, on rich Chairs under a *Canopy* of Cloth of Gold; and when he offered to kiss their Hands, they rose to him, as to a great Lord, made a difficulty to give him their Hands, and obliged him to sit down. He then gave them a brief Account of his Voyage, after which they gave him leave to retire to his Apartment, whither he was attended by the whole Court; and so highly was he Honour'd and Favour'd by their Majesties, that when the King rode in the Streets of *Barcelona*, the *Admiral* rode on one side of him, and the *Infante Fortuna* on the other: Whereas before, none were suffer'd to ride by his Majesty but the said *Infante*, who was his near Kinsman.

There was now no Occasion to Sollicite a second Voyage, orders being immediately issued for that purpose; for their Majesties were impatient for the *Admirals* return to *Hispaniola*, as well to relieve those that had been left there, as to enlarge the Colony and subdue the Island, together with all the others that either were or should be discover'd.

And now nothing seem'd wanting but to render their Title to these *Indian* Discoveries firm and indisputable, in order to which, by Advice of the *Admiral*, and according to the Custom of those Times, their Majesties sent to *Pope Alexander* the VI. who then Governed the Church, to procure his Approbation and consent for the Conquest of the said *Indies*; which the Good Father (as they ask'd him for nothing of his own) as readily granted; not only for what was already, but
likewise

likewise for all that should be afterwards discover'd, within an hundred Leagues from any of the Islands of the *Azores*, either to the West, or the South, except any Place which was then in the actual Possession of any Christian Prince; strictly forbidding all Kings, Princes, Potentates, and others, to intrude within those Bounds. Which grant was also confirm'd by his Holiness the next Year in the most ample and positive Terms. And their *Catholick Majesties*, being sensible that the *Admiral* had been the real cause of all this favour granted by the *Pope*, and that his Discovery was both their Original and best Title to the Possession of all those Countries, were pleas'd immediately to gratify him at *Barcelona*, on the 28th of *May*, by granting him a new Patent, or rather an Explanation of the Old one, wherein they confirm'd to him and his Heirs all they had before granted, and that in Terms so full of Royal Gratitude and Esteem, as reflected as much Honour on themselves, as on the Person they delighted to Honour.

Affairs thus settled, and every thing necessary for the Peopling these new Dominions being in a Readiness, the *Admiral* took leave of their *Catholick Majesties*, and departed from *Barcelona* for *Sevil* in the Month of *June*, where being come, he so hastened the fitting out the Fleet their Majesties had order'd him to provide, that in a short Time he had Seventeen Ships, great and small, ready to Sail, well stored with Provisions, and with every Thing requisite for the Colony,

as *Handicraftsmen* of all sorts, *Labourers*, *Husbandmen* to Till the Land, &c. Besides which the Fame of the Gold and other Riches of those Countries, had drawn together so many Gentlemen and other Persons of Note, that it was thought necessary to restrain their Numbers, at least till it appear'd how Things would succeed in those Parts, and till the Affairs of the Colony were settled upon a surer Footing. Yet notwithstanding this Injunction, No less than 1500 Persons went on Board (all sorts included) among whom several Carried *Horses*, *Asses*, and other Beasts, which afterwards proved of singular Service and advantage to the Planters in those Countries.

The *Admiral*, thus Furnished, weighed Anchor in the Road of *Cadiz*, where his little Fleet had been fitted out, on *Wednesday* the 25th. of *September*, in the year 1493, an Hour before Sun-rising, and stood South-west for the *Canary Islands*, intending there to take in Such Refreshments as he wanted.

On the 28th. of *September*, being 100 Leagues from *Spain*, abundance of Land-Fowl came on Board the *Admirals* ship, as *Turtle Doves*, and several other Sorts of small-Birds, which seem'd to be passing over to Winter in *Africk*, and to come from the *Islands Azores*.

On *Wednesday* the 2d. of *October*, he came to an Anchor at *Gran Canaria*; and at Midnight Sail'd again for *Gomera*, where he Arrived on the 5th. of *October*, and, being unwilling to lose Time, gave orders for the immediate taking in whatever the Fleet stood in need of.

On

On *Monday* the 7th. of *October*, he continued his Voyage towards the *Indies*, having first delivered a Seal'd Commission to every Ship, with Orders not to open them unless they should be seperated from him by stress of Weather; for as these Commissions contained an Account of the Course they were to Steer, to come to the Town of the *Nativity* in *Hispaniola*, he was very unwilling that Course should be known without the utmost Necessity.

They Sail'd with a fair Gale till *Thursday* the 24th. of *October*, when being 400 Leagues West of *Gomara*, he was surpriz'd, as well as the whole Crew, that they had not yet met with any of those Weeds they had seen in the first Voyage, when they were out but 250 Leagues. That Day also and the next, a *Swallow* flew about the Fleet.

On the *Saturday* following, at Night, they were visited by the * Body of *St. Elmo*, which appear'd with 7 lighted Candles on the Round-Top, and was follow'd by a terrible Tempest of *Thunder* and *Rain*.

The 2^d. of *November*, at Night, which was also on a *Saturday*, the *Admiral*, observing a great

* These Lights are the same which the Ancients call'd *Caster* and *Pollux*. The *Roman* *Catholic* Seamen affirm them to be the Body of *St. Elmo*, and frequently sing Prayers and Litanies to him, looking upon it as undoubted, that there can be no danger in any Storm where he appears. These Lights were also esteem'd propitious by the Ancients, when two or more were seen together; but when only one appeared, they call'd it *Helena*, and look'd upon it as Ominous of Ship-wreck.

great Alteration in the Sky and Winds, and taking Notice of the excessive Rains, concluded that he was certainly near some Land, wherefore he caused most of the Sails to be furled, and commanded all to be upon the Watch; nor without Reason, for the next Morning just as Day began to break, they saw Land seven Leagues to the westward, which was a high *Mountainous Island*, and which he call'd *Dominica*, on Account of its being discover'd on a *Sunday*.

A-while after they saw another Island north-east of *Dominica*, and then another, and after that another more northward. For which extraordinary Success, all the Men assembling together, sung the *Salve Regina*, and other Prayers and Hymns, with great Devotion, giving Thanks to *Almighty God*, for that in 20 Days after their Departure from *Gomara*, they had made that Land, judging the Distance between them to be 750 or near 800 Leagues.

Here finding no convenient Place to come to an Anchor on the East-side of the Island *Dominica*, they stood over to another Island, which the *Admiral* call'd *Marigalante*, after the Name of his Ship; where landing, he again, in the most solemn Manner, confirm'd the Possession he had in his first Voyage taken of all the Islands and Continent of the *West-Indies*, for their *Catholic Majesty*.

On *Monday* the 4th of *November*, he sail'd from the Island *Marigalante* northwards, by another great Island, which he called *St. Mary of Guadalupe*, both from the Remembrance of his Vow, and at the Request made to him by

the *Friars* of the House of that Name, to whom he had engag'd his Promise to call some Island by the Name of their *Monastery*.

Going ashore on this Island, to view a Kind of Town which they saw at a little Distance, they found it entirely empty, the People being all fled to the Woods, except a few Children, to whose Arms they ty'd some *Baubles* in hopes of alluring their Parents when they return'd. In the Houses they found *Geese* like ours, and a great many *Parrots*, with red, green, blue, and white Feathers, as big as an ordinary *Cock*. They also met with Plenty of *Pompions*, and a Sort of Fruit which look'd like a green *Pine-Apple*, but was much bigger, and solid within like a *Melon*, and much sweeter both in Taste and Smell. These grow wild in the Fields, on long Stalks like *Lillies*, or *Aloes*. They also saw several other Sorts of Fruits and Herbs very different from ours, with *Beds* or *Ham-macks*, of *Cotton*, *Nets*, *Bows*, *Arrows*, and several other Things of the same Kind; of all which the *Admiral* would not suffer his Men to take the least Trifle, that the *Indians* might be the less afraid of the *Christians*. But what they most wonder'd at, was an *Iron Pan* which they found, as not being able to guess how it should come there. Tho' this may easily be accounted for if we consider, that the *Indians* of the Island of *Guadalupe* being *Caribbees*, and making their Excursions to rob, as far as *Hispantiola*, might, perhaps take this *Pan* from the *Christians* that were left behind, or from the *Indians* of *Hispantiola*; or they might possibly carry away the Hulk of the Ship the *Admiral* lost, to make use of

of the *Iron*; or it might be the Remainder of some other Wreck, carried thither by the Wind and Current from our Parts. But be that as it will, they left it together with the rest, and return'd to their Ships.

The next Day, which was *Tuesday* the 5th of *November*, the *Admiral* again sent two Boats ashore to endeavour to seize somebody that might give him an Account of the Country, and inform him how far off, and which way *Hispaniola* lay. Each of these Boats return'd with a Youth, who agreed in saying they were not of that Island, but of another called *Borriquen* (now *St. John*) and that the Inhabitants of that Island of *Guadalupe* were *Caribbees* or *Canibals*, who had brought them Prisoners from their own Island.

Soon after this, the Boats returning to Shoar, to take up some *Christians* they had left there, found six Women in their Company, who had fled to them from the *Caribbees*, and came of their own accord aboard the Ships. These the *Admiral*, to allure the Islanders, would not keep aboard, but gave them *Glass-Beads* and *Bells*, and had them set ashore against their Wills. Nor was this done unadvisedly, for as soon as they were landed, the *Caribbees*, in the sight of the *Christians*, took away all the *Admiral* had given them. Wherefore, either for the Hatred they bore the *Caribbees*, or for the Dread they had conceived of them, a-while after, when the Boats return'd for Wood and Water, the aforesaid Women got into them, intreating the Seamen to carry them aboard the Ships, giving them to understand by

Signs, that these People were *Man-Eaters*, and had made Slaves of them, and that therefore they would not stay with them; so that the Men, being mov'd with their Distress and Impportunity, carried them back to the Ships, with two Children and a young Man who had likewise made his Escape from the *Caribbees*; these unfortunate Wretches rather chusing to put themselves into the Hands of People they had never seen, and who were entire Strangers to their Nation than to remain amongst those whom they knew to be so exceedingly wicked and cruel, and who had eaten their Husbands and Children; for as to the Women they take they do not kill and eat them, but keep them for Slaves.

They were told by one of these Women that there were several Islands towards the South, some inhabited and some not, which she and the other Women agreed in calling *Giamachi*, *Cairvaco*, *Huino*, *Buriari*, *Arubeira*, *Sixibei*. But the Continent, which they said was very large, they call'd *Zuunta*, which was likewise the Name given it by the People of *Hispaniola*; because formerly *Canoes* were us'd to come from thence, to trade with abundance of young Boys, of whom they said there were two Thirds in one of the adjacent Islands. They also told them that one of the Kings of the Country whence they fled, was gone with ten great *Canoes*, and 300 Men to make Inroads into the neighbouring Islands, and take People to eat. The same Women likewise describ'd to them where the Island *Hispaniola* lay; for though the *Admiral* had put it down in his *Sea-chart*, yet

yet for his greater Certainty he would hear what the People said of it in that Country.

He would immediately have directed his Course that Way; but being told that one Captain *Mark*, with eight Men was gone a-shore without his Leave, before Day, and was not yet return'd, he was forced to send out to look for them, though in vain, for by Reason of the vast Thickness of the Trees, there was no finding them. Wherefore the *Admiral*, that they might not be lost, or that he might not be obliged to leave a Ship behind to take them in, which might afterwards lose her Way to *Hispaniola*, concluded to stay there till the next Day; and because the Country, as has been already observ'd, was full of vast Woods, he order'd those who went to seek them again, that they should carry *Trumpets* and *Muskets* to bring them to the Noise. But this was also to no purpose, for the Men having stray'd all that Day, return'd to their Ships without hearing the least News of them.

It was now *Thursday*, and as no News had been heard of them since *Tuesday*, and as they went without Leave, the *Admiral* resolv'd to pursue his Voyage, or at least to make a Shew of doing so, that it might be a Terror to others; but, at length, at the Intreaty of some of their Relations and Friends he consented to stay, and commanded that the Ships in the mean-time, should take in Wood and Water, and that the Men should wash their Linnen. He then sent Captain *Hojeda* with forty Men, to look after those that were stray'd, and to search into the Nature of the Country, who found Plenty of
Mastick,

Maftick, Sandal, Aloes, Ginger, Frankincense, and feveral Trees in Taſte and Smell like *Cinnamon*; with abundance of *Cotton*, and feveral *Falcons*, two of which, in particular, they ſaw perſuing the other Birds. They likewise ſaw a great many *Kites, Herons, Turtles, Partridges, Geefe,* and *Nightingals*, and affirm'd that in travelling ſix Leagues, they had croſſed 26 Rivers, ſeſeral of which were very deep. Though as they were Strangers to the Country, and as their Way was ſo very uncouth, it is moſt probable that many of theſe Rivers were one and the ſame, only croſſed by them at different Places. Mean-time while they were admiring what they ſaw, and ſeeking about for the Stragglers, theſe laſt return'd to the Ships, on *Friday* the 8th of *November*, without having been met by any that look'd for them, excuſing themſelves that the thickneſs of the Woods was the Occaſion of their having been loſt. But the *Admiral* being reſolv'd to make them Examples, commanded the Captain to be thrown into *Irons* for his Preſumption, and the reſt to be puniſh'd by leſſening their Allowance of Proviſions. He then went a-ſhore to view ſome Houſes, where he ſaw all the Things above-mention'd, and in particular, a great deal of *Cotton* ſpun and unſpun, with *Looms* to weave, and abundance of Mens Skulls hung up, and Baskets full of Mens Bones. 'Tis obſervable that theſe Houſes were handsomer, and better ſtor'd with Proviſions, and other Neceſſaries for the Uſe of the *Indians*, than any of thoſe the *Admiral* ſaw in the Iſlands in his former Voyage.

On Sunday the 10th of November, he weighed Anchor, and sail'd with the whole Fleet along the Coast of *Guadalupe*, towards the North-West, for *Hispaniola*, and discovered the Island *Monseratte*, which he called by that Name, because of its Height, and which, he was told by the *Indians* he had on board, had been depopulated by the *Caribbees* or *Canibals*, who had devoured the Inhabitants.

Hence he proceeded to *St. Mary Redonda*, which he called by that Name, on Account of its being round, and the Shore so upright, that it seem'd inaccessible without the Help of Ladders. This Island the *Indians* called *Ocamanito*.

He next came to *St. Maria la Antigua*, which is an Island about 28 Leagues in Extent. When still holding on his Course North-west, he discovered several other Islands towards the North, and lying North-west and South-east, all very high and over-run with Woods, in one of which they cast Anchor, and called it *St. Martin*. Here they drew up several Pieces of Coral sticking to their Anchors, which flatter'd them with the Hopes they should find extraordinary Riches in those Parts; but the *Admiral*, though otherwise very curious in his Enquiries, was resolv'd to pursue his Voyage towards *Hispaniola*, to relieve those he had left there; but meeting with bad Weather, he was forced to come again to an Anchor, on Thursday the 13th of November, in a certain Island, where he commanded some *Indians* to be seiz'd, that he might learn whereabouts he was.

As the Boat, sent on this Errand, was returning to the Fleet with four Women and
three

three Children, whom the Sailors had taken, she met with a Canoe, in which were four Men and one Woman, who perceiving there was no way to escape grew desperate, and wounded two of the Christians with their Arrows, which they let fly with such Force and Dexterity, that the Woman shot a Target quite through; but the Boat furiously boarding her, the Canoe over-set, and the *Indians* were all taken swimming in the Water, one of which, as he swum, shot several Arrows, as if he had been upon dry Land. All these Men had their Privy-Members cut off, having, it seems, been taken before by the *Caribbees*, who treated them in this Manner for the same Reason as we do Capons, that they might grow the plumper, and more pleasing to the Taste.

The *Admiral*, departing from hence, continued his Voyage W. N. W. discovering as he sail'd above fifty Islands, which he left to the Northward. The biggest of these he called *St. Ursula*, and the others the 11000 Virgins.

He next came to an Island which he call'd *St. John Baptist*, but which was called by the *Indians* *Borriquen*, and anchored with his Fleet in a Bay on the West-side of it, where they took several Sorts of Fish, as Skate, Olaves, Pilchards, and Shads; and saw a great many Falcons, and Bushes like wild Vines. Also a little more to the eastward some of the Sailors discover'd several Houses handsomely built, after the *Indian* Fashion, with a Square before them, and a broad Road down to the Sea, with Towers made of Cane on both Sides, and the Tops of them beautifully interwoven with Greens.

Greens. And at the End next the Sea, was a lofty well-built Gallery or Balcony that would contain ten or twelve People.

At length on *Friday* the 12th of *November*, the *Admiral* came up with the North-Side of *Hispaniola*, where he immediately sent ashore at *Samana*, one of the *Indians*, a Native of that Part of the Country, whom he had brought with him out of *Spain*, and who, having himself been converted to the *Christian* Religion, had offered to bring all the rest of the *Indians* to submit to the Government of the *Christians*.

After this the *Admiral* continued his Voyage towards the Town of *Navidad*, or the *Nativity*, when arriving at *Cape Angel*, some *Indians* came on board, to barter their Commodities with the *Christians*. Coming afterwards to an Anchor in the Port of *Monte Christo*, a Boat that went a-shore, found near a River the Bodies of two dead Men, one of which seem'd to be young, and the other old, the latter having a Rope about his Neck of a Kind of Broom or Furze, with his Arms extended, and his Hands ty'd to a Piece of Wood, in the Form of a Cross, which they look'd upon as a bad Omen, though they could not distinguish whether they were *Christians* or *Indians*.

The next Day, being the 26th of *November*, the *Admiral* sent Men ashore in several Places; and the *Indians* came very readily and friendly to converse with the *Christians*, and touching the *Spaniards* Shirts and Doublets, call'd them by their Names in *Spanish*, to shew they were not ignorant how those Things were named; which, in a great measure, delivered the *Ad-*

miral from the Uneasiness and Jealousy he had conceived on Account of the dead Men, as judging that if those People had dealt treacherously by the *Christians* he had left there, they would not have come so familiarly and boldly aboard his Ships.

But the next Day as he lay at Anchor near the Town of *Navidad*, or the *Nativity*, a little after Midnight, a Canoe with some *Indians* came to the Fleet, and enquir'd for the *Admiral*, when being told he was there, and desir'd to come on board, they refused, saying they were determin'd not to go aboard till they both saw and knew him. Whereupon the *Admiral* coming to the Ship's Side, two of them immediately went up to him with two Masks, which they presented to him in the Name of the *Cacique Guacanagari*, who likewise sent a great many Commendations. They were then ask'd by the *Admiral* concerning the *Christians* he had left there, to which they answer'd that some of them were dead of Distempers, and that others, parting from their Companions, were gone into other Countries, but that all of them had taken four or five Wives. Though the *Admiral* easily gathered from their way of Speaking, that all or most of them were dead, yet he did not think proper to take Notice of it at that Time, but sent back the *Indians* the same Night with his Compliments, and a Present of some Toys for *Guacanagari*, not forgetting some Baubles for themselves.

Nor was he in the least mistaken in his Guess; for on *Thursday* the 28th of *November*, about Evening, coming into the Port, before the

Town

Town of *Navidad*, or the *Nativity*, he found it entirely burnt to the Ground. Nor was there a single *Indian* to be seen that Day in all the Country thereabout.

Being extremely concern'd at this mortifying Sight, the next Morning he went ashore to see the Ruins of the Houses and Fort, where he found nothing belonging to the *Christians*, except a few tatter'd Cloaths, and such other Kind of Refuse as is usually met with in a Place plunder'd and destroy'd.

All this while he saw no-body to make the least Enquiry of, wherefore in hopes of getting Intelligence, he went with some Boats up a River that was not far off; ordering his Men in the mean-time to cleanse the Well he had made in the Fort, thinking to find Gold in it, because at his Departure, fearing what might happen, he had commanded those he left behind, to hide all Gold they could get together in that Well, but nothing was found in it. Nor was the *Admiral* more successful with his Boats, for he could not take one *Indian*, all the People, where he came, leaving their Houses and flying to the Woods.

He return'd therefore to *Navidad*, where he found, in the Fields near the Town, the Bodies of eight *Christians*, and three others, who seem'd to have been dead about a Month, and whom they knew to be *Christians* by their Dress, when just as they were going to search for some other Tokens or Writings of the Dead, a Brother of the *Cacique Guacanagari* came with some *Indians* to talk with the *Admiral*. These, who could speak some Words of *Spanish*, and knew

the Names of all the *Christians* that had been left there, told the *Admiral*, that his Back was no sooner turn'd, than they began to fall at Variance amongst themselves, and to take, every one, as much Gold and as many Women as they could get; whereupon Quarrels arising, *Peter Gutierrez* and *Escovedo*, kill'd one *James*, after which, they, with nine others in their Company, fled with their Women, to a *Cacique* named *Caunabo*, who was Lord of the Mines, and had kill'd them all. That some Time after the said *Caunabo*, coming with a great Force to *Navidad* (where there was then only *James de Arana* with ten others, left to defend the Fort) had in the Night fir'd the Houses where the *Christians* lived, who for Fear of him fled with their Women to the Sea, where eight of them were drowned, and three died on Shore, whose Bodies they shew'd; adding, that *Guacanagari* himself, fighting with *Caunabo* in Defence of the *Christians*, was wounded and put to Flight.

This Account was likewise confirmed by some *Spaniards* sent by the *Admiral* to enquire farther in the Country, who coming to the Town where *Guacanagari* lay ill of his Wound, he gave them exactly the same Account in regard to the Behaviour and Death of the *Christians*; desiring them, as he was prevented by his Wound from waiting upon the *Admiral*, to tell him he should take it very kind if he would come to see him.

Accordingly, the next Day the *Admiral* paid him a Visit, when, with great Signs of Sorrow, the *Cacique* repeated to him all that had happen'd, as related above; adding, that he and his

his Men had been all wounded in Defence of the *Christians*, as appear'd by their Wounds, which were given, not by *Christian* Arms, but with *Aragayas*, or wooden Swords, and Arrows pointed with Fish Bones.

This Discourse over, he presentied the *Admiral* with eight Strings of small Beads, of white, green, and red Stones, a String of Gold Beads, a regal Crown of Gold, and three little Calabashes full of Gold Sand; in return of which the *Admiral* gave him abundance of our *European* Toys, with which he was so extremely pleas'd, that, though he was very ill, yet he would needs wait upon him to the Fleet, where he was handsomely entertain'd, and highly delighted to see the *Horses*, of which the *Christians* had before given him an Account.

The *Admiral* now reflecting upon the above-mention'd Disasters which had befallen his Men, with the Ruin of his Fort, and the Loss of his Ship, and considering that not far off there were better and more commodious Places to plant a Colony. On *Saturday* the 7th of *December*, he sail'd with the whole Fleet eastward, and about Evening cast Anchor not far from the Islands of *Monte Christo*, and the next Day at *Monte Christo*, among those seven little low Islands, whereof mention has been already made and which, though they are without Trees, are nevertheless exceeding pleasant; for even now in the Depth of Winter, they found there Variety of Flowers, with Nests of Eggs and young Birds, and all other Things that might be expected in Summer.

From

From hence he went to Anchor before a Town of *Indians*, where resolv'd to plant a Colony, he landed with all his Men, Provisions, &c. in a Plain near a Rock, on which a Fort might conveniently be erected, and there built a Town, and call'd it *Isabella*, in honour of his Royal Mistress Queen *Isabel*.

This Place was judg'd the more convenient, as the Port was very large, though expos'd to the North-west, and had a most charming River about a Bow-shot from it, from which Canals or Water might be drawn to run through the Middle of the Town, and a little beyond was a great open Plain, from which the *Indians* said the Mines of *Cibao* were not very remote.

For these Reasons the *Admiral* was so intent upon settling the said Colony, that what with the Fatigue he had endured at Sea, and the daily Toil he underwent here, he fell sick of a lingering Illness, which held him from the 11th of *December* till the 12th of *March* 1494. During which Time, having order'd the Affairs of the Town in the best Manner he could, he sent one *Alonso de Hojeda*, with fifteen Men to seek out the Mines of *Cibao*.

After this, on the 2d of *February*, he gave Permission to twelve Ships of the Fleet to return to *Casile*, under the Command of one Captain *Anthony de Torres*, whose Sister was Nurse to Prince *John*, a Person of great Experience and Honour, and in whom their *Catholic Majesties* and the *Admiral* very much confided. By this Gentleman he sent an Account in Writing of every Thing at large, that had happened in this second Voyage, with the nature

ture of the Country, and what farther was necessary for the Preservation and Prosperity of the Colony.

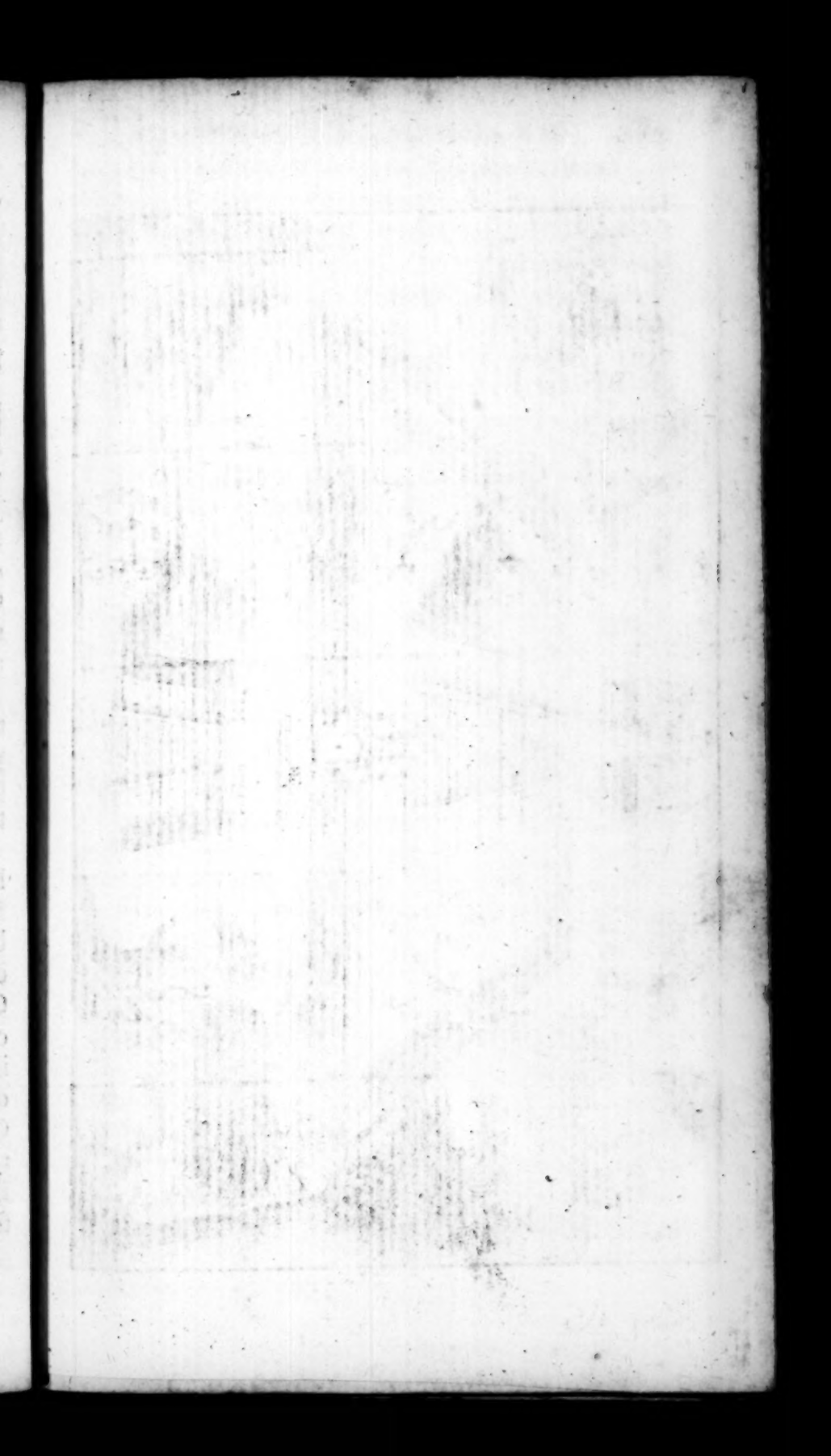
Not long after *Hojeda* return'd from his Discovery, and giving an Account of his Journey, said, That the second Day after his Departure from *Isabella*, he lay at the Pass of a Mountain, which was very difficult of access, but that afterwards, at almost every League's Distance, he met with *Caciques*, who had been very courteous to him, and that continuing his Journey, he arriv'd, on the 6th Day after he set out, at the Mines of *Cibao*, where the *Indians* immediately, in his Presence, took up Gold in a small River, as they had done in many others of the same Province, where he affirm'd there was Plenty of Gold.

This News so much reviv'd the *Admiral*, that though he was hardly recover'd of his Sickness, yet he resolv'd to go ashore, that he might observe the Disposition of the Country, and the better concert what was proper to be done.

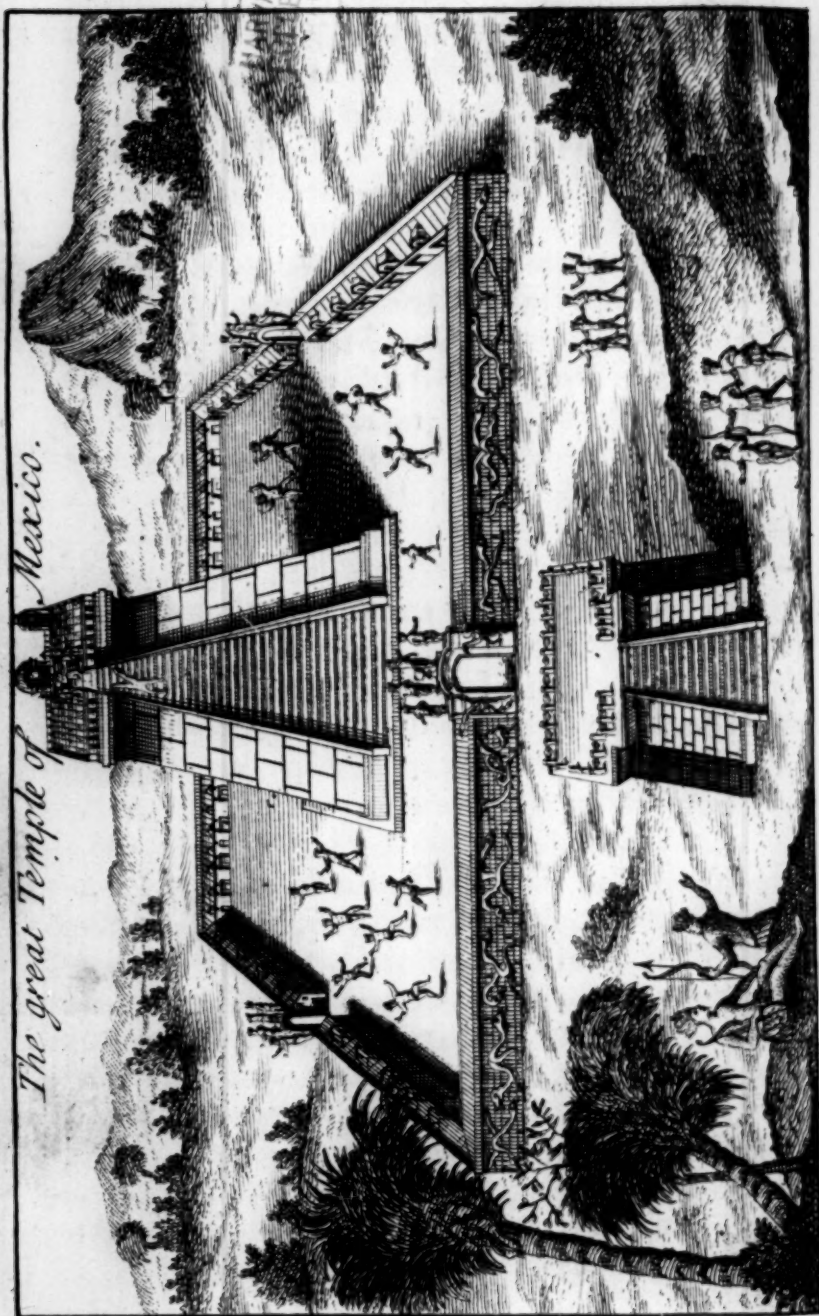
Accordingly on *Wednesday* the 12th of *March*, he set out from *Isabella* for *Cibao*, to see the Mines, with all his Men that were in Health, both on Foot and on Horse-back, leaving a convenient Guard in the two Ships and three Caravels, that remain'd of the Fleet, and causing all the Ammunition and Tackle belonging to the other Ships, to be put aboard his own, that none of his People might have an Opportunity to rebel, as some of them had attempted to do whilst he was sick. For many having undertaken this Voyage with a Persuasion that as soon as ever they landed, they might

might load themselves with Gold, and so immediately return Home with immense Riches; finding they fell short of their Expectations (Gold, wherever it is found, requiring Time, Trouble, and Labour to gather it) and being moreover dissatisfied and offended at the Building the New Town, and weary of the Diseases, the Climate and Change of Diet occasion'd amongst them, they had privately conspired to leave the *Admiral*, and seizing the Ships that remain'd, by main Force, to return with them into *Spain*. The chief Ringleader and Head of this Conspiracy was one *Bernard de Piza*, who had been an Officer of Justice at Court, and went that Voyage with the Character of their *Catholick Majesties* Controuler; wherefore the *Admiral*, when inform'd of it, would not punish him any otherwise than by securing him aboard a Ship, till he could conveniently send him into *Spain*, with his Process drawn up, as well for Mutiny, as for having writ a false and scandalous Information against the *Admiral*, which he had hid in a private Part of the Ship.

Having, therefore, settled all these Affairs, and left some Men both at Sea and ashore, together with his Brother *Don James Columbus*, to look after the Town and Fleet, he set forwards towards *Cibao*, carrying along with him all the Necessaries requisite to build a Fort, that he might keep that Province under, and secure the *Christians* he should leave there to gather Gold, against any Attempts or Designs of the *Indians*. And the more to terrify them, and take away all hopes, that they might act in the *Admiral's* Presence as they had done in his



The great Temple of Mexico.



his Absence by the *Christians* he had left among them; he carried along with him all the Men he could, that they might in their own Towns, see the Power of the *Christians*, and be sensible that whenever any Wrong was done to a single Man of his travelling through the Country, there was a Force sufficient to chastize it, and to appear still the more formidable, when he pass'd through their Towns, he made his Men march with their Arms, in Rank and File, as is usual in Time of War, with their Trumpets sounding and Colours flying.

In this Manner he march'd from *Isabella* along the Banks of the River near that Town, and about a League farther cross'd another less River, and went to lie that Night three Leagues off in a Plain, divided into pleasant Fields, and reaching to the Foot of a craggy Hill which they were to pass over, and which was about two Bow-Shots in Height. This he called *Puerto de los Hidalgos*, or the Gentlemens Port (the *Spaniards* calling the Passes of Mountains Ports) because some Gentlemen were sent before to order this Road to be made, which was the first Road made in the *Indies*, for the *Indians* themselves only make their ways broad enough for one Man to pass at a Time.

Beyond this Pass he came into a large Plain, over which he travell'd five Leagues the next Day, and encamped at Night near a great River, which the Men passed on Floats and in Canoes. This River, which he called of *Canes*, fell into the Sea near *Monte Christo*.

The Houses of the *Indian* Towns they march'd through, he observ'd, were, in general,

ral, round, thatch'd, and had such little Doors, that whoever went into them was forced to stoop very low. Into these the *Indians* he brought from *Isabella* enter'd with the utmost Familiarity, taking away whatever they lik'd best, and yet the Owners did not seem in the least displeas'd; as if all Things had been in common. And in like Manner the Natives of the Country, coming to the *Christians*, would take from them what they thought fit, thinking their Things had been as common as their own; but in this they were soon undeceived, being, to their great Discontent, made sensible of the contrary.

On *Friday* the 14th of *March*, the *Admiral* set forward from the River of *Canes*, and about a League and a half farther came to another great River, which he call'd the River of Gold, because in passing it they gather'd some Grains of Gold.

Having got over this River with some Difficulty, he proceeded to a large Town, where many of the People fled to the Mountains, but most of them fortified their Houses, barring their Doors with Canes, which they think a sufficient Defence to hinder any-body from coming in; since according to their Custom, no Man dares break open a Door he finds so barr'd.

From hence the *Admiral* went on to another fine River, which he call'd the *Green River*, the Banks whereof were cover'd with bright round Stones, and there he took up his rest for that Night.

Holding on his Journey the next Day, he pass'd through some great Towns, where the People had put Canes cross their Doors, like those above-mention'd; and the *Admiral* and his Men, being weary stay'd that Night at the Foot of a rugged Mountain, which he call'd Port *Cibao*, forasmuch as the Province of *Cibao* begins beyond this Mountain.

Setting out the next Day, they travell'd along the Path, where they were forced, with much Difficulty, to lead the Horses; and hence the *Admiral* sent back some Mules to *Isabella*, for a Supply of Bread and Wine, for as the Journey was long, they began to want Provisions; and they suffer'd still the more, as they were not then us'd to the *Indian* Diet, as they are now who live and travel in those Parts, and who find the Food of the Country more easy of Digestion, and more agreeable to that Climate than what is brought them from *Europe*, tho' it is not of so great Nourishment.

Those who were sent for Provisions being return'd, the *Admiral* pass'd over the Mountain on *Sunday* the 16th of *March*, when he enter'd the Country of *Cibao*, which is rough and stony, full of Gravel, plentiful of Grass, and water'd by several Rivers in which there is a great deal of Gold.

The farther they went into this Country, the more uncouth they found it, and encumber'd with Mountains, on the Tops whereof there appear'd small Grains of Gold, which being wash'd off by the great Rains, and carry'd down into the Rivers, are gather'd there in the Form of Sand.

This Province is as large as *Portugal*, and has in it abundance of Gold Mines, with vast Quantities of Gold in the Brooks, but for the chief Part there are but very few Trees in it, and those along the Banks of Rivers, and most of them Pines and Palms of several Sorts.

Now *Hojeda* having travell'd the Country before, as hath been already mention'd, the *Indians* by that means had some Knowledge of the *Christians*; and hence it came to pass, that whatever Way the *Admiral* went, the said *Indians* came out into the Roads to meet him, with Presents of Provisions, and some small Quantity of Gold Dust, which they had gather'd, after they understood he came thither for it.

Perceiving he was now eighteen Leagues from *Isabella*, and that the Country he had left behind was very craggy, he order'd a Fort to be built in a pleasant and strong Place, which he call'd the Castle of *St. Thomas*, to command the Country about the Mines, and to be a Place of Safety for the *Christians* that went thither.

The Command of this new Fort he gave to *Don Pedro Margarite*, a Gentleman of Note, with 56 Men, among whom were Workmen of all Sorts for building the Castle, which was to be built of Clay and Timber, that being thought a sufficient Strength to keep out any Number of *Indians* that were likely to come against it.

Having thus given Orders for finishing and fortifying the Castle, he set out on *Friday* the 21st of *March* on his Return to *Isabella*; and
near

near the *Green River* met the Mules coming with Provisions, and not being able himself to go forwards, because of the great Rains, he stay'd there, sending the Provisions to the Fort.

Afterwards endeavouring to find the Ford of that River, and of the River *Del Oro*, which is bigger than the *Ebro*, he stay'd some Days in the above-mention'd *Indian Towns*, eating their Bread and Garlick, which they purchas'd for a small Matter.

On *Sunday* the 29th of *March*, he came back to *Isabella*, where he found Melons already grown and fit to eat, though it was not above two Months since the Seed had been put into the Ground. Likewise Cucumbers came up in twenty Days, and a wild Vine of the Country having been prun'd, produc'd excellent Grapes exceeding large. Also the next Day, being the 30th of *March*, a Countryman gather'd Ears of Wheat he had sow'd the latter end of *January*. The Vetches they gather'd were likewise much bigger than those they sow'd; and every Thing they sow'd sprung up above Ground in three Days, and the 25th they eat of it. Also the Stones of Fruit set in the Ground sprouted out in seven Days, and the Vine-Branches shot out in the same Time, and in twenty-five Days after, they gathered green Grapes. The Sugar-Canes likewise budded in seven Days; all which shew'd such a wonderful Temperateness of the Air and Fertility of the Soil, as rejoic'd not only the *Admiral* but the whole Colony.

This Pleasure, however, was a little interrupted, on *Tuesday* the 1st of *April*, by a Messenger from the new Fort of *St. Thomas*, who brought

brought News, That the *Indians* of that Country fled, and that the *Cacique Caunabo* was preparing to come and attack the Fort. But the *Admiral* knowing how little formidable those People were, made light of the Report, confiding particularly in his Horses, by which the *Indians* were afraid to be devoured, and so terrified that they durst not go into any House where a Horse stood. Nevertheless he thought fit to send a Re-inforcement of Men and Provisions, considering that since he design'd to go to discover the Continent with the three Caravels he had left, it was highly necessary all Things should remain quiet behind.

Wherefore on *Wednesday* the 2d of *April*, he sent seventy Men with Provisions and Ammunition to the Fort, twenty-five of which were to keep guard, and the others to assist in making another Road, the first being very inconvenient and troublesome, as were also the Fords of the Rivers.

These being gone, while the Ships were fitting out to go upon the new Discovery, he employ'd himself in ordering all Things necessary for compleating his Town of *Isabella*, which was still building, dividing it into Streets, with a convenient Market-Place, and endeavouring to bring the River up to it by a large Canal cut for that purpose ; because the Town being almost a Cannon Shot from the River, the People would have been fatigued very much to have fetch'd Water so far, and especially then, when most of them were very weak and indisposed, by Reason of the Change of Air and Diet ; for though they had Plenty of the Country Provisions,

visions, yet not being us'd to that Kind of Food, it did not at all agree with them.

For this Reason the Admiral resolv'd to leave but 300 Men in the Island, and to send the rest, the first Opportunity, into *Spain*, which Number, considering the nature of the Island, and and of the *Indians*, he knew was sufficient to preserve the Country in Subjection to their *Catholick Majesties*.

In the mean-time as the Bisket grew towards an End, and they had no Flour, but Wheat, he resolv'd to erect some Mills, notwithstanding there was no Fall of Water fit for that Purpose within a League of the Town; at which Work, and all others, he was obliged constantly to over-look the Workmen, they (as it is the Custom of true *Spaniards*) taking every Opportunity to save themselves from even the most necessary Labours.

After this, he determin'd to send out all the People that were in Health, except the Handicraftsmen and Artificers, to the Royal Plain, that travelling through the Country, they might quiet it, strike a Terror into the *Indians*, and by Degrees be accustom'd to their Food, since they daily felt more and more the Want of their *Spanish* Provisions.

The Command of these Men he gave to *Hojeda*, till they came to *St. Thomas*, where he was to deliver them to *Don Peter Margarita*, who was to conduct them about the Island, whilst *Hojeda* himself commanded in the Fort, he having taken the Pains, the Winter before, to discover the Province of *Cibao*, which in the *Indian* Tongue signifies Honey.

Accord-

Accordingly, on *Wednesday* the 29th of *April* *Hojeda* set out from *Isabella* on his Way to *Fort St. Thomas*, with the aforesaid Men in his Company, in all above 300, and having pass'd the River *Del Oro*. seiz'd the *Cacique* that liv'd there, with a Brother and Nephew of his, whom he sent in Irons to the *Admiral*, having first cut off the Ears of one of the said *Cacique's* Subjects, in the great Place of his Town; because three *Christians* coming from *St. Thomas* to *Isabella*, this *Cacique* had given them five *Indians* to carry their Cloaths over the River at the Ford, who being come to the Middle of the River, return'd to their Town with them, and the *Cacique* instead of punishing them, took the Cloaths for his own Use, refusing to restore them.

Another *Cacique*, who likewise liv'd on the other Side of the River, hearing of this Misfortune of his Brother Prince, and relying on the Service he had done the *Christians*, resolv'd to go with the Prisoners to *Isabella*, and intercede with the *Admiral* for them, who entertain'd him very courteously, but order'd that the other *Indians*, with their Hands bound, should be publickly sentenc'd to die in the Market-place, which the honest *Cacique* seeing, he burst into Tears, and with many Intreaties obtain'd their Lives, promising they should never again be guilty of the like Offence.

They were scarce dismiss'd, when a Man on Horseback came from *St. Thomas's*, with an Account, that in the Lands of the *Cacique* who had been detain'd Prisoner, he overtook five *Christians* taken by his Subjects as they were coming

coming for *Isabella*, but that frightening the *Indians* with his Horse, he had releas'd them, above 400 Men running away from him, of whom he wounded two in the Pursuit; and that when he had pass'd the River, seeing they turn'd again upon the said *Christians*, he made as if he would go back against them, when for Fear of his Horse, they ran away a second Time, lest the Horse should fly over the River.

The *Admiral*, as we mention'd before, being resolv'd to go to discover the Continent, appointed a Council to govern the Island in his Absence. The Persons of which it consisted were *Don James Columbus* his Brother, with the Title of President; *F. Boyl* and *Peter Fernandez*, Colonel, Regents; *Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal*, Rector of *Bacea*, and *John de Luxan* of *Madrid*, Gentlemen to their *Catholick Majesties*. And that there might be no Want of Meal for the Support of the People, he hastened the Building of the Mills, notwithstanding the Rains and great Floods very much obstructed the Work.

Having thus settled the Affairs of the Island, taking three Ships along with him, he set sail upon *Thursday* the 24th of *April*, after Noon, and came to an Anchor the same Day at *Monte Christo*, west of *Isabella*.

On *Friday* he went to *Guacanagari's* Port, thinking to find him there, but the *Cacique*, seeing the Ships, fled for Fear, though his Subjects endeavour'd to excuse it, falsely affirming he would soon return. But the *Admiral* not caring to stay without some very material Cause, departed thence on *Saturday* the 26th

of *April*, and went to the Island *Tortuga*, which lies 6 Leagues to the westward.

Here he lay by that Night in a Calm, with his Sails aboard, the Tide running back against the Currents.

Next Day, the north-west Winds and Currents setting from the West, oblig'd him to go back to an Anchor in the River of *Guadalquiver*, which is in the same Island, there to wait for a Wind that would enable him to stem the Current, which both then and the Year before, he found to run strong towards the East.

On *Tuesday* the 29th of the same Month, the Wind being fair, he arriv'd at Cape St. *Nicholas*, whence he cross'd over to the Island *Cuba*, running along the South Coast of it, and having sail'd a League beyond *Cabo Fuerte*, put into a large Bay which he call'd *Puerto Grande*, or the great Port, the Mouth whereof was 150 Paces over, and deep in Water. Here he cast Anchor, and took in some Refreshments of boild Fish and Oysters, whereof the *Indians* had great Store.

On the 1st of *May* he continued his Voyage along the Coast, where he found commodious Harbours, fine Rivers, and high Mountains; and on the Sea, after he left *Tortuga*, he met with abundance of those Weeds he had seen on the Ocean in his former Voyage to and from *Spain*.

As he sail'd close along the Shoar, great Numbers of People came aboard in their Canoes from the Island, thinking the *Spaniards* to be Men come down from Heaven, bringing them Bread, Water, and Fish, and giving

it all freely, without asking for any Return; but the Admiral, to send them away pleas'd, commanded they should be paid, giving them Beads, Bells, and such kind of Baubles.

On *Saturday* the 3d of *May*, the Admiral determin'd to sail over from *Cuba* to *Jamaica*, that he might not leave it behind, without knowing whether the Report of the vast Plenty of Gold he had heard to be there was true or not, and the Wind being fair, and he almost half way over, discover'd it on *Sunday*.

On *Monday* he came to an Anchor, and thought it the most beautiful Place of any he had seen in the *Indies*, and such Multitudes of People in great and small Canoes came aboard as would seem incredible.

The next Day he ran along the Coast to seek out Harbours, and the Boats going to sound the Mouths of them, there came out so many Canoes with arm'd Men, to defend the Country, that they were forc'd to return to their Ships, not so much for Fear, as to avoid giving an Occasion of Enmity to those People. But afterwards considering, that if they shew'd the least Signs of Fear, the *Indians* would grow insolent upon it, they return'd together to the Port, which the Admiral call'd *Puerto Bueno*, or the good Harbour. And because the *Indians* came to drive them off, those in the Boats saluted them with such a flight of Arrows from their Cross-bows, that six or seven of them being wounded they were glad to retire.

The Fight being thus ended, there came Abundance of Canoes from the neighbouring Places, in a peaceable Manner, to gaze at the

Spaniards, and barter Provisions, and several other Things which they brought with them, and gave for the least Trifle that was offer'd them. In this Port, which is like a Horse-shoe, the Admiral's Ship was repair'd, it being Leaky.

This done, they set Sail on *Friday* the 9th of *May*, keeping so close along the Coast westward, that the *Indians* followed the Ships in their Canoes, to Trade with the *Spaniards*, and get something off them.

The Wind being somewhat contrary, the Admiral could not make so much Way as he wish'd, till on *Tuesday* the 14th of *May*, he resolved to stand over again for *Cuba*, and to keep along its Coast, designing not to return till he had sailed 5 or 600 Leagues, and was satisfied whether it was an Island or Continent.

The same Day, just as he was going off from *Jamaica*, a young *Indian* came on Board, telling the Admiral he was resolved to go into *Spain*; and after him came several of his Kindred and other People in their Canoes, earnestly intreating him to go back, but they could not prevail with him to change his Resolution, and therefore to avoid seeing the Affliction of his Sisters and other Relations, he hid himself where they could not find him. The Admiral admiring his Constancy, gave orders he should be treated with the utmost Civility.

Leaving *Jamaica*, on *Wednesday* the 15th of *May*, the Admiral came to that Point of *Cuba*, which he call'd *Cabo de Santa-Cruz*, or *Cape Holy-Cross*, when running along the Coast, there happened a violent Storm of Thunder

der and Lightning, which together with the Flats and Currents, put him into no small Danger, and to a great deal of Trouble, being oblig'd at the same Time to struggle against these two Evils, which requir'd contrary Remedies ; for against Thunder it is proper to strike the Sails, and it was requisite to spread them to avoid the Flats, and had this Calamity lasted for 8 or 10 Leagues, he could not have supported it.

But the worst was, that all over that Sea both North and North-East, the farther they went, the more little low Islands they met with, and though there were Trees in some of them, yet others were Sandy, and scarce appear'd above the Surface of the Water, some a League, some more and some less in Compass.

'Tis true, the nearer they sail'd to *Cuba*, the higher and pleasanter these little Islands appear'd, and it being a Matter of Difficulty to give every one of them a Name, the Admiral call'd them all in general *Jardin de la Reyna*, the *Queen's Garden*.

But notwithstanding the many Islands he saw that Day, he saw many more and larger the next, and that not only to the North-east, but to the North-west and South-west, in so much that they counted no less than 160 Islands that Day, all parted by deep Channels, through which the Ship sail'd.

In some of these they saw Abundance of *Cranes*, in Shape and Size like those of *Spain*, but in Colour as red as Scarlet. In others they found Abundance of *Tortoises*, with their Eggs,

* Eggs, not unlike those of a *Hen*, except that the Shells are much harder.

In these Islands they also saw *Crows* like those in *Spain*, and *Sea-Crows*, and an infinite Number of little *Birds* that sung sweetly, and the very Air smelt as sweet, as if they had been among *Roses*, or the finest *Perfumes* in the World; yet notwithstanding their Pleasure was so great, their Danger was no less, there being such a vast number of *Channels*, that a great deal of Time was spent in finding the Way out.

In one of these *Channels*, they descry'd a *Canoe* of *Indian Fishermen*, who very quietly, and without the least concern expected the Boat which was making towards them, and when it came near, made a Sign to the *Christians* in it, to lie by, till they had done *Fishing*. Their manner of *Fishing* was so strange and new to our Men, that they very willingly comply'd; it was thus, they have some small *Fishes* they call *Reves* ty'd by the Tail, which running themselves against other *Fish*, stick so fast to the next they meet, [by a certain Roughness they have from the Head to the middle of the Back, that when the *Indians* perceive it, pulling the Line, they draw up both together; and it was a *Tortoise* the *Spaniards* saw so taken by these *Fishermen*, the *Reve* clinging about the Neck of it, where they generally fasten, being by that means safe from the Bite of the

* The *Tortoise* lays her Eggs in a Hole she makes in the Sand, and covering them, leaves them, till the Heat of the Sun hatches and brings forth the young *Tortoises*, which in Time grow as big as a Buckler, or great Target.

other

other Fish; they have also been seen to fasten upon vast Sharks.

When these *Indians* in the Canoe had taken their *Tortoise*, with two other Fishes, they presently came very friendly to the Boat, to know what the *Spaniards* would have, by whose Directions they went aboard the Ships, where the Admiral treated them very courteously, and understood by them, that there was an infinite number of Islands in that Sea. They would fain have given among the Sailors all they had, but the Admiral would suffer nothing to be taken of them but the Fish, the rest being their Nets, Hooks, and Calabashes full of Water. He then presented them with some small Trifles, after which they went away extremely pleas'd, and he held on his Course, though not with a Design to do so long, because he began to want Provisions, whereas had he been well stor'd, he thought not to have return'd into *Spain* but by the East; though his Health was very much impair'd, not only by reason of his ill Diet, but also because he had not lain in a Bed ever since he sail'd from *Spain*, till the 19th of *May*, as appear'd by his Journal, except about 8 Nights, when he was very much indisposed; and if he had a great deal of Care upon him at other Times, it was doubled this Voyage, by Reason of the innumerable Quantity of Islands among which he sail'd, and which were so many, that on the 20th of *May*, he discover'd 71, besides many more he saw West South-west at Sun-setting, which Islands or Sands are not only frightful, because of their Multitude appearing

ing on all Sides ; but what is still more terrible, because every Night there rises from off them a great Fog Eastward, so black and dismal to behold, that it seems as if some great Shower of Hail would immediately fall ; but when the Moon rises it all vanishes, Part of it turning to Rain and Wind, which is so usual and natural in that Country, that it happen'd every Night the Admiral was there, and generally at Night the Wind is North, coming off the Island *Cuba* ; and afterwards when the Sun is up, it comes about East, and follows the Sun till it comes to the West.

The Admiral still holding on his Course westward, among the Islands, on *Thursday* the 22d of *May*, came to one somewhat bigger than the rest, which he call'd *St. Mary*, and landing at a Town, found it quite Empty, the *Indians* being all fled for fear of the Christians, nor did they find any thing in the Houses but Fish, which is all the Food those People live on, and several Dogs like Mastiffs, which eat Fish too.

Thus without speaking to any Body, or seeing any Thing remarkable, he sail'd away North-East, among abundance of Islands, in which there were many *Cranes* as red as Scarlet, *Parrots*, and other sorts of Birds, Dogs like those before-mention'd, and abundance of those Weeds which he had seen on the Ocean, when he first discover'd the *Indies*.

This sailing among so many Sands and Islands fatigued him extremely, for sometimes he was forc'd to stand West, sometimes North, and sometimes South, according as the Channels would

would permit; for notwithstanding his Care in founding, and keeping Men upon the Round-top to look out, yet the Ship often touch'd, and there was no avoiding it, there being no end of the Flats on all Hands.

Sailing on in this Manner, he came again to *Cuba*, to take in Water, whereof they stood much in need; and though there was no Town where they put in, by Reason the Place was full of Woods, yet one of the Sailors that went ashoar, going up among the Trees with a Cross-bow to kill some Bird or Beast, found 30 People arm'd with such Weapons as they use, *viz.* Spears, and Staves, which they wear instead of Swords, and call *Macanas*. Among these he said he saw one clad with a white Coat or Vest, down to his Knees, and two that carry'd him had Vests down to their Feet, all three of them having Complexions as white as *Spaniards*, but that he did not speak to them, because being afraid of such a Number he began to cry out to his Companions, which as soon as the *Indians* heard, they ran away without looking back. The Admiral, the next Day, sent several People ashoar to endeavour to find these *Indians*, but they could not Travel above half a League by Reason of the thickness of the Trees and Bushes, and because all that Coast is boggy and muddy, for two Leagues up the Country, where there are Hills and Mountains, so that they only saw some Footsteps of Fishermen on the Shoar, and abundance of *Cranes* like those in *Spain* but bigger.

Sailing about 10 Leagues westward they saw Houses on the Shoar, from which some Canoes came with Water, and such Provisions as those People eat, which they brought to the Christians, who paid well for them. One of these *Indians* the Admiral caused to be stopped, telling him and the rest, by his Interpreter, that he should freely return Home, as soon as he had directed him in his Voyage, and given some Account of the Country. At which the *Indian* seem'd extremely pleas'd, and assur'd the Admiral that *Cuba* was an Island; that the King or *Cacique* of the western Part of it, never spoke to his Subjects but by Signs, by which all his Orders were immediately obey'd; and that all that Coast was very low and full of small Islands, which was found but too exactly true; for the next Day, being the 11th of *June*, the Admiral, to pass from one Channel to another, was forc'd to have the Ships tow'd over a Flat, where there was not a Foot Water, and the whole Breadth of it was not above two Ships Length.

Bearing up closer to *Cuba* they saw *Tortoises* of an uncommon Bigness, and in such Numbers that they cover'd the Sea. Also at break of Day they saw such a Cloud of *Sea-crows*, coming from the Seaward to the Island, that they darken'd the Sun; besides which they saw abundance of *Pidgeons* and *Birds* of other sorts; and the next Day there came such swarms of *Butterflies*, that they darken'd the Air, till Night, when the great Rains carried them away.

On

On *Friday* the 13th of *June*, the Admiral, perceiving that the Coast of *Cuba* ran far west, and that it was a Matter of the greatest Danger as well as Difficulty to sail that Way, on Account of the vast Multitude of Islands and Sands, on all Sides, and his own Want of Provisions, determin'd to return to the Town he had begun to build in *Hispaniola*; and to furnish himself with Wood and Water, anchor'd in the Island *Evangelista*, which is thirty Leagues in Compass, and 700 from *Dominica*.

Here having provided himself with what he wanted, he directed his Course Southward, hoping to get out best that Way, and sailing through that Chanel he saw look clearest, after sailing a few Leagues, he found it shut up, which did not a little terrify and perplex the Men, seeing themselves as it were hemm'd in on all Sides, and destitute of Provisions and all Comfort.

But the Admiral, always wise and courageous in Difficulties, perceiving their Faint-Heartedness, cry'd out with a chearful Countenance, that he thank'd God for forcing him back the Way he came, forasmuch as had they continued their Voyage the Way they intended, they might probably have run themselves into some Place whence they could not possibly have got out, which now they could easily do.

Thus to the great Satisfaction of all the Men, he return'd to the Island *Evangelista*, where he had water'd; and on *Wednesday* the 25th of *June*, sail'd thence North-West towards some Islands that appear'd five Leagues off.

A little farther he came into a Sea so diversified with green and white, that it look'd like one entire Sand; ho' there was two Fathom Water; along which he sail'd seven Leagues, till he came into another Sea, as white as Milk, which was about three Fathoms of a thick Water, tho' it seem'd to be all Shoal, without Water enough for the Ships.

Having sail'd about four Leagues upon that Sea, he came into another as black as Ink, and five Fathom deep, through which he held his Course till he came up with *Cuba*. Thence standing to the Eastward, with scant Winds, through narrow Channells and Shoals, on the 30th of *June* his Ship run fast aground, when no other Invention being able to move it, it pleas'd God it was drawn off a-head, though with some Damage, because of its beating upon the Sand.

Having thus, through God's Assistance, escap'd the Danger that threaten'd him, he sail'd on as the Wind and Shoal-water would permit, always through a very white Sea, two Fathoms deep, neither deeper nor shallower, unless he came too close to some of the Sands, where there was Want of Water.

Nor was this their only Trouble, for every Day about Sun-set, they were expos'd to vast Showers, which rise in the Mountains from the Morasses near the Sea, and were a great Fatigue to them, till they came close to *Cuba*, towards the East, the Way they came at first. Here they observ'd, as before, a most fragrant Scent, that came off the Island, as it were of the sweetest Flowers.

On

On the 7th of *June*, the *Admiral* landed to hear Mass, when there resorted to him an old *Cacique*, Lord of that Province, who was very attentive all the Time of Mass, and when it was ended, told him, by Signs, and the best Methods he had of expressing himself, that it was very well done to give Thanks to God *, because the Soul that was good would go to Heaven, and the Body remain on Earth ; but that the Souls of the Wicked must go to Hell. Adding, amongst other Things, that he had been in the Island *Hispaniola*, where he was acquainted with some of the chief Men; that he had likewise been in *Jamaica*, and a great Way towards the West of *Cuba*, and that the *Cacique* of that Port was habited like a Priest.

Sailing thence on *Wednesday* the 16th of *July*, the *Admiral* drew near *Cape Cruz* in *Cuba*, when on a sudden, he was assaulted by such a violent Storm, as bore his Ship's Side under Water, and though, as it pleas'd God, they struck all their Sails, and dropp'd their best Anchors, yet they took in so much Water at the Deck, that the Men were not able to pump it out, especially in the Condition they were in, being very much spent for Want of Provisions; for their whole Allowance was only a Pound of rotten Bisket a Day, and about half a Pint of Wine, unless they happen'd to catch some Fish, which yet they could not keep from one Day to another, the Weather was so hot and putrefy-

* Whatever may be pretended to the contrary, there never was a Nation yet discovered without some Notion of a God, and Rewards and Punishments in a future State. Particular Monsters there may indeed be in any Country!

ing. Of this Want, which was common to all, the *Admiral* thus expresses himself in his Journal which he sent to their *Catholick* Majesties.

“ I myself am at the same Allowance, God
 “ grant it may be to his Honour, and for your
 “ Highnesses Service! For I shall never again
 “ for my own Benefit, expose myself to such
 “ Sufferings and Dangers, never a Day passing,
 “ but we are all upon the very Brink of
 “ Death.

In this Distress he arriv'd at *Cape Cruz* the 18th of *July*, where he was kindly entertain'd by the *Indians*, who brought him abundance of *Cazabi*, so they call their Bread made of grated Roots, a great deal of Fish, Store of Fruit, and such other Provisions as they had.

Here the Wind being contrary to sail for *Hispaniola*, he stood over to *Jamaica*, on *Wednesday* the 22d of *July*, and sail'd Westward close under the Shore, the Country all along being most delightful and fruitful, and all the Coast full of Towns, the People whereof follow'd the Ships in their Canoes, bringing with them such Provisions as they had, which were better lik'd by the *Christians*, than what they found in the other Islands. The Climate, Air, and Weather, was the same as in the rest; for in this western Part of *Jamaica* there gather'd every Evening a Storm of Rain, which lasted about an Hour, and which the *Admiral* attributed to the great Woods in those Countries; saying the same was usual at first in the *Canary-Islands*, *Madera*, and the *Azores*; whereas now, the vast Woods that shaded them being cut
 down,

down, there were neither such great nor frequent Storms and Rains there as formerly.

The *Admiral* sailing on thus with contrary Winds, was oblig'd every Night to take the Shelter of the Land, which appear'd so pleasant, that he thought none excell'd it, especially near a Bay which he call'd *De las Vacas*, because there are nine Islands close to the Land, which he said was as high as any he had seen, and reach'd, he believ'd, above the Region where the Storms bred, yet was all peopl'd, fruitful and pleasant. This Island he judg'd to be 800 Miles in Compass, and when fully discover'd 50 Leagues in Length, and 20 in Breadth.

Being much taken with its Beauty, he had a great Mind to have stay'd there, to have inform'd himself more fully of the Nature of it; but the great want of Provisions, before-mention'd, and the Leakiness of the Vessels would not permit him. Wherefore as soon as the Weather was a little fair, he sail'd away eastward, standing over directly for *Hispaniola*, so that on *Tuesday* the 19th of *August* he lost Sight of *Jamaica*, calling the most eastward Cape of it on the South-Coast, *Cabo del Farol*.

On *Wednesday* the 20th of *August*, the *Admiral* had Sight of the South-Side of *Hispaniola*, and call'd the first Point thereof *Cape St. Michael*, which was 30 Leagues distant from the most Easterly Point of *Jamaica*, yet soon after, through the Ignorance of the Sailors, it was call'd *Cape Tiburon*.

From this Cape, on *Saturday* the 23d of *August*, a Cacique came on board, who call'd the *Admiral* by his Name, and had several other

Spanish

Spanish Words, by which he was confirm'd this was the same Land as *Hispaniola*.

On the last of *August*, he anchor'd in an Island, call'd *Alto Velo*, where, having lost Sight of the other two Ships under his Command, he caus'd some Men to go ashore, because that Island being very high they might see a great way round; but they could discover none of their Companions. As they were going aboard again, they kill'd eight Sea-Wolves, that lay asleep on the Sand, and took abundance of Pidgeons, and other Birds, for that Island not being inhabited, nor those Creatures us'd to see Men, they stood still to be kill'd with Staves. The same they did the two following Days, waiting for the Ships which had been missing ever since the *Friday* before, till, at length, at the End of six Days they came, and all three together went away to the Island *Beata* 12 Leagues distant from *Alto Velo*.

Hence they pass'd on coasting *Hispaniola*, in the Sight of a delightful Country, which was a Plain running up a Mile from the Sea, so populous, that it seem'd to be one continued Town for a League in Length. In this Plain appear'd a Lake 5 Leagues over from East to West.

Here the People of the Country having Knowledge of the *Christians*, came aboard in their Canoes, bringing News that some *Spaniards* from *Isabella* had lately been amongst them, and that they were all well, which News was exceeding welcome to the *Admiral*; and to the End that they too (who lay somewhat more towards the East) might hear of his Health,

Health, and of his and his Company's Return, he sent nine Men a-cross the Island, by the Forts St. Thomas, and the *Magdalen* to *Isabella*, whilst he with his three Ships still kept along the Coast eastward.

Here sending the Boats for Water, to a Place where a great Town appear'd, the *Indians* came out against them with Bows and poison'd Arrows, and with Ropes in their Hands, making Signs that they would bind the *Christians* should they take them. But as soon as the Boats came to Land, the *Indians* laid down their Arms, offering to bring Bread and Water, and all they had, and ask'd in their Language for the Admiral.

Going hence, they saw in the Sea, a Fish as big as a Whale, which on its Neck had a great Shell, like a Tortoise, and bore its Head, which was as big as an Hoghead, above Water; had a Tail, like a Tunny, very long, and had two large Finns on the Sides. By this Fish, and some other Signs, the Admiral, perceiving there would be a Change of Weather, sought for some convenient Harbour to secure himself; when, on the 15th of *September*, it pleas'd God to show him an Island, near the East Part of *Hispaniola*, call'd by the *Indians* *Adamanai*, where, the Weather being very stormy, he dropp'd Anchor in the Chanel between that and *Hispaniola*; and the same Night saw an Eclipse of the Moon, which, he said, vary'd 2 Hours, 23 Minutes from the Meridian of *Cadiz*.

It was probably this that made the bad Weather last so long, for he was forc'd to lie close

in that Place till the 20th of the same Month, not without great Apprehensions for the other Ships, which could not get in; but it pleas'd God to spare them all.

Being once more got together, on the 24th of *September*, they sail'd to the most Easterly Point of *Hispaniola*, whence they pass'd over to a little Island, lying between *Hispaniola* and *St. John de Borriquen*, call'd by the *Indians* *Mona*.

Thence they went to *St. John*, where the great Toil the Admiral had sustain'd threw him into a dangerous Illness, between a Pestilential Fever and a Lethargy, which presently depriv'd him of his Senses. Whereupon all the Men, aboard the Ships, determin'd to abandon the Design he had in Hand of discovering all the Islands of the *Caribees*, and to return to *Isabella*, where they arriv'd in five Days, on the 29th of *September*. And there it pleas'd God to restore *Columbus* to his Health, though his Sicknefs lasted above five Months, which was attributed to his great Fatigue during that Voyage, and his extraordinary Watchfulness; for sometimes he had not above three Hours Sleep in eight Days; a Thing which would seem incredible, had not so many Men been Witnesses to the Truth of it.

At his Return to *Hispaniola*, from this Discovery of *Cuba* and *Jamaica*, the Admiral found there his Brother *Bartholomew Colmmbus*, who, as we mention'd before, was employ'd by him to treat with the King of *England*, about the Discovery of the *Indies*; at which Court he met with so many Delays, that when, at length, he was returning to *Spain* with the full

Grant

Grant of his Demands, he was told at *Paris*, by *Charles King of France*, that the Admiral his Brother had already discovered the *Indies*, and was presented by that Prince with 100 Crowns to prosecute his Journey. But though he made all the Haste he possibly could to overtake his Brother in *Spain*, yet when he came to *Sevil*, the Admiral was set out for the *Indies* with 17 Sail. He then went to *Valladolid*, to wait upon their *Catholick* Majesties, taking with him *Don Ferdinand* and *Don James* the two Sons of *Columbus*, who had before been appointed Pages to Prince *John*, where he met with a most gracious Reception, and was immediately sent by their Majesties with three Ships to *Hispaniola* to join his Brother, where he serv'd some Years, as appears from a Memorandum, found among his Papers, in which are the following Words, "I serv'd as Captain
" from the 14th of *April* 1494. till the 12th
" of *March* 1496. when the Admiral set out
" for *Spain*, and then I began to act as Gover-
" nor till the 24th of *August* 1498. When the
" Admiral returning from the Discovery of *Pa-*
" *ria*, I again serv'd as Captain till the 11th of
" *December* 1500. when I return'd to *Spain*." But to resume our Narration, as soon as the Admiral came back from *Cuba*, he made him Governor of the *Indies*; though afterwards there arose a Controversy on that Subject, their *Catholick* Majesties insisting that they had granted him no such Power. However, to adjust the Difference, their Majesties granted it a-new, and so for the future he was stil'd *Ade-*
lantado, or Lieutenant of the *Indies*.

The Admiral having now the Assistance and Advice of his Brother, took some rest, and had a little Respite from Business, though, on the other Hand, he met with Trouble enough, as well from his Sickness, as because he found almost all the *Indians* revolted, through the Fault of *Don Peter Margarite*, of whom we have already spoke. For notwithstanding the Obligations he had to the Admiral, who at his Departure for *Cuba*, had left him the Command of 360 Foot and 14 Horse, to travel over the Island, and reduce it to the Obedience of their *Catholick* Majesties, and particularly the Province of *Cibao*, whence the chief Profit was expected; yet he did all Things so exactly contrary, that no sooner was the Admiral gone, than he went to the great Plain call'd *Vega Real*, ten Leagues from *Isabella*, where he stay'd without stirring a Step, or using the least Effort to reduce any Part of the Island. Hence arose Factions at *Isabella*, he endeavouring that those of the Council, appointed by the Admiral, should obey his Orders, sending them very insolent Letters, till at length, perceiving he could not succeed in his Attempt of getting the whole Command into his Hands, rather than stay the coming of the Admiral, who he knew would call him in Question for his Behaviour, he went aboard the first Ships that came from *Spain*, and return'd in them, without giving any Account of himself, or any way disposing of the Men left under his Command. Whereupon every one went his Way among the *Indians*, where he thought proper, taking away their Goods and Women by Violence, and committing

ting such Outrages, that the *Indians* determin'd to be reveng'd on those they found straggling, or alone, insomuch that the Cacique of *Magdalen*, whose Name was *Guatiguana*, had kill'd ten, and privately order'd a House to be fir'd, in which there were eleven sick. But for this he was severely punish'd when the Admiral return'd; for though he himself could not be taken, yet many of his Subjects were made Prisoners, and sent into *Spain*, in four Ships, which *Anthony de Torres* brought from thence on the 24th of *February* 1495. Six or seven, who had done Hurt to the *Christians* in other Parts of the Island, suffer'd for't, and had not the Admiral come in Time to curb the Insolence of the Caciques much more Mischief had been done; for he found the Island in the utmost Disorder, most of the *Spaniards* having committed a Thousand Villanies, for which they were mortally hated by the *Indians* who refus'd to submit to them. Nor was it any difficult Matter for them to agree together to cast off the *Spanish* Yoke; because, as hath been already observ'd, there were only four principal Caciques or Kings, to whom all the rest were subject. The Names of these four were *Cau-nabo*, *Guacanagari*, *Behechicho*, and *Guarionex*, each of which had under him 70 or 80 inferior Caciques or little Lords, not that these last paid any Tribute, or gave any other Acknowledgment to the former, only they were oblig'd, whensoever call'd upon, to assist them in their Wars, and till the Ground.

But of these, *Guacanagari*, who was Lord of that Part of the Island, where the Town of the
Nativity

Nativity had been built, continu'd a firm Friend to the *Christians*. As soon, therefore, as he heard of the Admiral's Arrival, he went to visit him, protesting he had been no way aiding or advising with the others, as might appear by the great Kindness the *Christians* had found in his Country, where 100 Men had been constantly entertain'd and furnish'd with every Thing he could get to please them; for which Reason the other Kings were become his Enemies, and in particular *Bebechicho* who had kill'd one of his Women, and *Caunabo* who had taken another; wherefore he pray'd his Assistance to revenge these Wrongs, and to procure the Restoration of his Wife.

The Admiral the more readily comply'd with this Request, as he had a good Opinion of his Sincerity and Affection to the *Christians*, seeing he wept every time he spoke of those that had been kill'd at the *Nativity*, as if they had been his own Children; but what particularly determin'd him, was the Consideration, that this Discord amongst the *Indian* Chiefs would make the Conquest of the Country the more practicable, and at the same Time enable him the better to punish the Revolt of the other *Indians*, and the Murder of the *Christians*.

Therefore on the 24th of *March* 1495. he set out from *Isabella* with the afore said *Guacanagari*, to carry on the War, being very desirous to crush his Enemies; though the Undertaking seem'd very hazardous, they having rais'd an Army of above 100,000 *Indians*, whereas the Admiral had not in all above 200 *Christians*, 20 Horses, and as many Dogs.

When

When they were about two Days Journey from *Isabella*, the Admiral, who was perfectly well acquainted with the Nature of the *Indians*, divided his Forces into two Parts, giving one of them to his Brother the Lieutenant, that so they might attack that Multitude, scatter'd about the Plains in two Places, believing the Terror of hearing the Noise in several Places at once, would put them to Flight sooner than any Thing else, as it prov'd in effect; for the Battallions of Foot falling, on both Sides, on the *Indians*, and breaking them with the first Discharge of their Cross-Bows and Muskets, the Horses and Dogs fell in next, in such a furious Manner, that they could not rally; whereupon those timorous Creatures fled some one Way, and some another, and the *Spaniards* pursuing made such Slaughter, that in a short Time, through God's Assistance, they obtain'd a compleat Victory; a great Number of the Enemies being slain, and others taken, among whom was *Caunabo*, the chief Cacique of them all, together with his Wives and Children.

This Cacique afterwards confess'd that he had kill'd twenty of the *Christians* left with *Arana*, in the Town of the *Nativity*, the first Voyage, when the *Indies* were discover'd; and that afterwards, under Colour of Friendship, he went in great Haste to see the Town of *Isabella*, but in Reality to observe how he might best attack it, and do as he had done at the *Nativity*; of all which Things the Admiral had before been fully inform'd by others; and therefore to punish him for that Offence, and also for this second Revolt, he sent both him and his Brother Prisoners

soners into *Spain*; for he would not without the Knowledge of their *Catholick* Majesties execute so considerable a Person, but satisfy'd himself with punishing some of the others that were most guilty.

The Victory thus obtain'd, and the Imprisonment of this Prince put the Affairs of the *Christians* into such a good Posture, that though at that Time they were but 630 in all, many of which were sick, and others, Women and Children; yet in the Space of a Year, which the Admiral spent in ranging the Island, he reduc'd it to such Obedience, and that without drawing another Sword, that they all submitted to pay Tribute to their *Catholick* Majesties every three Months, viz. all that inhabited the Province of *Cibao*, where the Gold Mines were, from fourteen Years of Age and upwards, to pay a large Horse-Bell full of Gold Dust, and all the rest 25 Pounds of Cotton a Head. And that it might be known who had paid this Tribute, and who not, there was a Sort of Brass and Tin Coin stamp'd, one of which Pieces was to be given to every one that paid, to be wore about his Neck, that whosoever was found without it might be known not to have paid, and punish'd accordingly. And without Doubt this Order would have prov'd effectual, had not those Troubles, which we shall speak of hereafter, happen'd among the *Christians*; for after the taking *Caunabo*, the Country was so peaceable, that a *Christian* might go single where he pleas'd; and the *Indians* themselves would carry him about on their Shoulders, which the Admiral attributed entirely to the extraordinary Goodness

Goodness of God, for otherwise it had been impossible for 200 Men, half sick, and ill-arm'd, to subdue such a Multitude; which it pleas'd God, not only to bring under his Command, but likewise to send such Scarcity of Provisions, and such violent Diseases among them, as reduc'd them to one Third of the Number they had been at first.

Having thus brought the Island into a peace-Condition, and built the Town of *Isabella*, besides three Forts in different Parts of the Country, the Admiral resolv'd to return into *Spain*, to acquaint their *Catholick* Majesties with what he thought necessary for their Service, and, in particular to clear himself from the many Slanders which had been rais'd against him by the Envy and Malice of some Persons, who never ceas'd giving the King wrong Informations of the Affairs of the *Indies*, to the great Prejudice and Dishonour both of the Admiral and his Brother.

Accordingly, on *Thursday* the 10th of *March* 1496. he went on board with 225 *Spaniards*, and 30 *Indians*, and sail'd from *Isabella* about Break of Day, running along the Coast, with two Caravals, the one call'd the *Santa Cruz*, and the other the *Nina*, the same he went in to discover the Island of *Cuba*.

On *Tuesday* the 22d of *March* he lost Sight of the East-Point of *Hispaniola*, holding on his Course Eastward, as the Wind would permit. But the Wind for the most Part continuing East, on the 6th of *April*, finding his Provisions fell short, and that his Men were weary and dispirited, he fell off towards the South, for the

Carribe Islands, and came up with them in three Days, anchoring at *Marigalante* on *Saturday* the 9th of *April*.

The next Day, though it was contrary to his Custom, when in any Port, to weigh Anchor on a *Sunday*, he set sail, being forc'd to it by the Murmuring of his Men, who alledg'd, That the Observation of Days was ridiculous, when they were to seek their Bread; wherefore he made for the Island *Guadalupe*, where sending his Boats, well-man'd, ashore, before they reach'd Land, abundance of Women came out of the Woods with Bows and Arrows, as if they would defend their Island; for which Reason, and because the Sea ran somewhat high, those in the Boats kept aloof, but caus'd two *Indian* Women, whom they had brought from *Hispaniola*, to swim ashore, of whom the other Women enquiring concerning the *Christians*, and understanding they only wanted Provisions, in Exchange for such Things as they had, bid them go with their Ships to the North-Side of the Island, where their Husbands were, who would furnish them with whatsoever they wanted.

Accordingly the Ships sailing close under the Shore, saw abundance of People come down with Bows and Arrows, who let fly at the *Spaniards* with great Cries, but without doing any Execution, their Arrows falling short; upon which the *Indians* retir'd into an Ambush, but perceiving the Boats full of Men were going to land, they came out again to withstand them, till being frightened by the Cannon, fir'd at them from the Ships, they all fled to the Woods, and

and abandon'd their Houses and Goods to the *Christians*, who took them to their own Use; and being acquainted with the Way of making Bread, immediately fell to work to supply their Wants.

Among other Things they found in these Houses, there were a great many large Parrots, Honey, Wax, and Iron, whereof they had Hatchets to cut, and Looms like those for Tapisstry-work, in which they weave their Tents. Their Houses were square and not round, as is customary in the other Islands; and in one of them they found the Arm of a Man roasting upon a Spit.

While they were thus employ'd in preparing their Bread, the Admiral sent 40 Men up into the Country to endeavour to learn something of it, who, the next Day, return'd with ten Women and three Boys; the rest of the People being fled.

Among these was the Wife of a Cacique, whom a *Canary* Man, that was very swift, overtook with much Difficulty; and she had easily got from him, but seeing him alone, she thought to take him, and closing got him down, and had certainly strangl'd him, had not the others come in to his Assistance.

These Women have their Legs swathed with Cotton from the Ankle to the Knee, that they may look thick, which Ornament they call *Coiro*, and esteem it as a great Beauty; and they gird them so hard, that if any of the Bandage happens to slip off, that Part appears very thin. The same Kind of Fashion is practis'd both by the Men and Women in *Jamvica*,

who swathe their Arms as high as the Arm-Pits.

The Women of this Island are likewise very fat, and there were many of them thicker than a Man could grasp. As soon as their Children can walk they give them a Bow and Arrows, that they may learn to shoot; and they all wear their Hair long, and loose upon their Shoulders, which is the only Covering they have.

The above-mention'd Cacique's Lady told the Admiral that this Island was only inhabited by Women, and that those who endeavour'd to hinder his Men from Landing were all Women, except about four Men, who were there accidentally from another Island; for at a certain Time in the Year, they come to hunt, and accompany with them. The same Customs, she assur'd him, were also observ'd by the Women of another Island, call'd *Matrimonio*, of whom she gave much the same Account as we read of the ancient *Amazons*; all which the Admiral made no Difficulty to credit, because of the surprising Strength and Courage of these Women, which he himself had been a Witness to. It is likewise observable, that these Women seem'd to be endu'd with clearer Understandings than those of the other Islands; for in them they only knew to reckon the Day by the Sun, and the Night by the Moon; whereas these Women could reckon by other Stars, it being a common Expression amongst them, *when the North Star rises, or such a Star is North, then it is Time to do such or such a Thing.*

Having now made a Provision of Bread for 20 Days, besides what they had already on board,
the

the Admiral determin'd, without farther Delay, to pursue his Voyage towards *Spain*; but perceiving this Island was a Kind of Inlet to several others, he thought proper to distribute some Presents among those Women before he went, both to conciliate their Favour, and to make them some Recompence for the Losses they had sustain'd. After which he sent them all ashore, except the Cacique's Lady, who chose to go into *Spain* with her Daughter, among the other *Indians* of the Island *Hispaniola*, among whom was *Caunabo*, who, as we have already said, was the chief Prince in all that Island, which was a principal Motive, that induc'd this Lady to consent to go into *Spain* with the Admiral.

Having therefore furnish'd himself with Bread, Wood, and Water, he set sail on *Wednesday* the 20th of *April*, from *Guadalupe*, though with a poor Wind, keeping near the Latitude of 22 Degrees, for at that Time they had not discover'd the Method of running away North to meet the South-West Winds.

Having made but very little Way, and the Ships being crowded with People, on the 20th of *May*, they began to suffer extremely for Want of Provisions, which was so great, that their Allowance was but six Ounces of Bread a Day, and less than a Pint of Water, without any Thing else; and though there were eight or nine Pilots aboard the Ships, yet none of them knew where they were, only the Admiral was confident they were but a little West of the *Azores*, whereof he gives the following Account in his Journal.

“ This

“ This Morning the *Dutch* Compaffes varied
 “ as usual, a Point; and those of *Genoa*, that
 “ us’d to agree with them, varied but a very
 “ little; but afterwards sailing East vary more;
 “ which is a Sign we are 100 Leagues, or some-
 “ what more, West of the *Azores*; for when
 “ we were jnst 100, we saw but a few scatter’d
 “ Weeds in the Sea; and the *Dutch* Needles
 “ varied a Point, those of *Genoua* cutting the
 “ North-Point; and when we are somewhat
 “ farther, E. N. E. they will alter again.”

Which was verified on the *Sunday* following, being the 22d of *May*; by which, and by the Exactness of his Account he found himself 100 Leagues from the Islands *Azores*, which he was surpriz’d at, and attributed this Difference to the several Sorts of Loadstones with which the Needles are touch’d; for till they came just to that Longitude, they all varied a Point, and there some held it, and those of *Genoua* exactly cut the North Star. The same was yet farther confirm’d the next Day, being the 24th of *May*.

Thus continuing their Voyage, on *Wednesday* the 8th of *June*, they came in Sight of *Odemira*, between *Lisbon* and *Cape St. Vincent*, all the Pilots for several Days having still made for Land, except the Admiral, who the Night before slack’d his Sails, telling them it was because they were near *Cape St. Vincent*, which all of them ridicul’d as incredible; some of them affirming they were in the *English* Channel; and those that err’d the least, saying they were on the Coast of *Galicia*; and that therefore they ought not to take in any Sail, it being better to die

die ashore than to starve miserably at Sea; the Scarcity among them being so great, that there were several, who Cannibal-like, were for devouring the *Indians* they had on board; while others to save the little Provision they had left, were for throwing them over-board, which they would certainly have executed, had not the Admiral exerted all his Authority to prevent it; insisting upon it, that as they were Creatures of the same Species, they neither ought nor should be treated worse than the rest; and it pleased God, as a Reward of his Justice and Humanity, that the next Morning they discover'd Land, as he had promis'd them, on which Account he was always afterwards look'd upon by the Seamen, as a most expert Pilot, and almost propheticall in Sea-Affairs.

Being arriv'd in *Spain*, the Admiral immediately set forward for *Burgos*, where he was very favourably receiv'd by their Majesties, who were there celebrating the Nuptials of Prince *John* their Son, with *Margaret* of *Austria*, Daughter to *Maximilian* the Emperor, upon which Occasion there was the greatest and most splendid Appearance of Nobility and Persons of Distinction, that ever were seen together at the Court of *Spain*.

The Admiral at his Audience, presented their Majesties with several Things, which he brought with him from the *Indies*, as Samples of the Product of the Country, as well Birds, and Beasts, as Trees, Plants, Instruments of civil and military Service, with many other Things used by the *Indians* for their Convenience and Diversion; likewise several Girdles, and Masks, with Eyes
and

and Ears of Plates of Gold; besides a large Quantity of Gold Sand, great and small, as Nature produc'd it; some Grains being as big as Vetches, some as Beans, and others as Pidgeons Eggs. Though these were not so much esteem'd afterwards, because, in Time, there were Pieces of Gold found that weigh'd above 30 Pounds.

Having given their Majesties an Account of all that related to the improving and peopling the *Indies*, he was very desirous to hasten his Return, for Fear some Misfortune should happen in his Absence, which was the more to be dreaded as he had left the People in great Want of all Necessaries. But though he was very importunate on this Account, yet so dilatory was the Court in this Affair, that ten or twelve Months elaps'd, before he obtain'd two Ships, which were sent before, with Succours, under the Command of *Peter Fernandez Coronel*.

These set out in *February* 1498. the Admiral staying behind to negotiate such a Fleet as was requisite for him to return with to the *Indies*; but for this he was forc'd to stay above a Year longer at *Burgos*, and at *Medina del Campo*; the fitting it out being retarded much longer than was convenient, through the Negligence and ill-Management of the King's Officers, and particularly of *Don John de Fonseca*, Arch-Deacon of *Sevil*, whence it came to pass (for mean Spirits never forgive those they injure) that the said *Don John*, who was afterwards Bishop of *Burgos*, was ever an utter Enemy to the Admiral and his Affairs, and the principal of those that afterwards brought him into Disgrace with their

their *Catholic* Majesties, as will be related hereafter.

At length, on the 30th of *May*, 1498. he set sail from the Bay of *St. Lucar Barrameda*, with six Ships loaded with Provisions, and other Necessaries, for the Relief of the Planters in *Hispaniola*, and peopling of that Island.

On the 7th of *June*, he arriv'd at the Island of *Puerto Santo*, where he heard Mass, and stay'd to take in Wood and Water, with what else he had Occasion for; and the same Night sail'd away towards *Madera*, whither he came on *Sunday* the 9th of *June*, and at the Town of *Fonchal*, was courteously entertain'd by the Governor of the Island, with whom he stay'd, to lay in a farther Store of Provision, till *Saturday* in the Afternoon, when he again set sail; and on *Wednesday* the 19th of *June* arriv'd at *Gomera*, where there was a *French* Ship that had taken three *Spanish* ones, who seeing the Admiral's Squadron, weigh'd Anchor, and stood to Sea with them.

The Admiral imagining they had been Merchant-Ships, who fled, mistaking him for a *Frenchman*, had not the least Thought of pursuing them, till, when they were at a considerable Distance, being inform'd what they were, he sent three of his Ships to give them chace, for Fear of which, the *French* left one of the Ships they had taken behind, and fled with the other two so swiftly, that they could not be overtaken; and they might have carried the other off with the same Ease had they not forsaken it; but when the Admiral appear'd in the Port, their Consternation was so great, that they

had not Time to man it: So that there being but four *Frenchmen* aboard, and six *Spaniards* of those that had been taken in it, these last seeing the Assistance that was coming to them, clap'd the *French* under Hatches, and return'd to the Port, where the Ship was restor'd to its Owner; and the *Frenchmen* had suffer'd, but that *Don Alvaro de Lugo* the Governor, with all the principal of the Island, interceded for them, who begg'd them to exchange for six of their Men that the *French* had carried away, which with some Difficulty the Admiral granted.

On *Thursday* the 21st of *June* he sail'd for the Island *Ferro*, where he resolv'd to send away three of his six Ships to *Hispaniola*, and with the other three to sail towards the Islands of *Cabo Verde*, thence to sail directly over, and discover the Continent; wherefore he appointed a Captain over each of the three Ships he sent to *Hispaniola*, the first of which was *Peter de Arana*, Cousin to that *Arana* that died in *Hispaniola*; the second *Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal*; and the third, one *John Anthony Columbus*, a near Relation of his own; to whom he gave particular Instructions, that each of them should have the chief Command a Week in his Turn.

This done, he sent them away for *Hispaniola*, and himself set out for the Islands of *Cape Verde*. But the Climate he was then entering upon, being unhealthy at that Time, he was attack'd by a terrible Fit of the Gout in one Leg, and four Days after fell into a violent Fever, notwithstanding which he was still himself, and
diligently

diligently observ'd the Way the Ship made, with the Alterations of the Weather that happen'd, as he had always done from the very Beginning of his first Voyage.

On *Wednesday* the 25th of *June*, he discover'd the Island *de Sal*, one of those of *Cape Verde*, which having pass'd, he came to another call'd *Boa Vista*, a Name no way agreeing with it, as it signifies a *good Prospect*, and the Place is extremely dull and miserable.

Here he cast Anchor in a Channel, near a small Island on the West-Side of it, near to a Place where there were six or seven Houses set apart, for the Use of Persons troubled with the Leprosy, who came thither to be cured. And as Sailors rejoice when they discover Land, so do these poor Wretches much more when they descry any Ships; wherefore they presently ran down to the Shore, to speak to those the Admiral sent in Boats to take in Water and Salt; when understanding they were *Spaniards*, the *Portuguese*, who had Charge of the Island for the Proprietor, went aboard to speak to the Admiral, and offer him all he wanted; for which the Admiral return'd him thanks, ordering him to be handsomely entertain'd, and some Provisions to be given him, because, by Reason of the Barrenness of the Island, they are always in great Necessity.

The Admiral being very curious to know what Method they us'd to cure the Lepers, this Person told him "That the Temperature of
" the Air was one great Step towards it; and
" that the next was their Diet, there coming
" thither a vast Number of Tortoises, on which

“ the Sick feed, and anoint themselves with
 “ their Blood, by which means, in a short
 “ Time they recover; but that those who are
 “ born infected with this Distemper are longer
 “ a Curing. That the Reason of their having
 “ so many Tortoises, was the Shores being all
 “ sandy, whither the Tortoises, in the Months
 “ of *June, July, and August*, come over from
 “ the Shore of *Africk*, most of them as big as
 “ an ordinary Target, and that every Night
 “ they came up to sleep, and lay their Eggs in
 “ the Sand; at which Time the People with
 “ Lanthorns, or other Lights, go along the
 “ Shore, seeking the Track the Tortoise leaves
 “ on the Sand, which they follow till they find
 “ the Fish, which being tir’d with coming so
 “ far, sleeps so sound, that it never hears its
 “ Enemy, who turning up its Belly goes on to
 “ seek more; for when turn’d in this Manner,
 “ they cannot stir from the Place, or recover
 “ their Feet. Having thus got as many as they
 “ think fit, they come again in the Morning to
 “ chuse those they like best, and letting go the
 “ least, carry away the others to eat.” So
 wretchedly do the Sick live here, without any
 other Employment or Sustenance, the Island
 being very dry and barren, without either Trees
 or Springs; so that they are forc’d to drink of
 certain Wells whose Water is thick and brack-
 ish. Those who had charge of the Island,
 which were only that Man and four more, had
 likewise no other Employment than that of kill-
 ing Goats, and salting them to send into *Portu-
 gal*. He affirm’d to the Admiral, “ That there
 “ were such Multitudes of these Goats on the
 Moun-

“ Mountains, that some Years they kill'd to
“ the Value of 3 or 400 Ducats; and that they
“ all came at first from eight Goats, carried
“ thither by the Proprietor of the Island,
“ whose Name was *Roderick Alfonso*, Secretary
“ of the Customs to the King of *Portugal*.
“ That the Hunters are often four or five
“ Months without Bread or any Thing to eat,
“ except Goats Flesh and Fish; for which Reason
“ he should set great Store by the Provision
“ the Admiral had given him.”

The same Person and his Companions went also once or twice a Goat-Hunting with some of the *Spaniards*; but the Admiral perceiving it would require a great deal of Time to kill all he had Occasion for, would stay no longer, being impatient to pursue his Voyage.

On *Saturday* the 30th of *June*, he sail'd for *Santiago*, the chief of the Islands of *Cape Verde*, where he arriv'd the next Day in the Evening, and anchor'd near a Church, sending ashore to buy some Cows and Bulls to carry alive to *Hispaniola*; but finding it would be a difficult Matter to furnish himself so soon as he desir'd, and considering how prejudicial Delays might be to him, he resolv'd to stay no longer; and the rather for Fear his Men should fall Sick, that Country being very unhealthful. For in his Journal he says, “ all the while I was at this Island, I never saw the Sky nor any Star, but there was continually a thick sultry Fog, inso-much that three Parts of the Inhabitants were sick, and all of them had a very distemper'd Complexion.”

There-

Therefore on *Thursday* the 5th of *July*, he left the Island of *Santiago*, sailing South-west, with a Resolution to hold that Course till he was under the Equinoctial, and then to steer due West, that he might find some other Land, or cross over to *Hispaniola*. But the Currents among those Islands setting violently towards the North and North-west, he could not sail as he intended; so that he says, “ On *Saturday* the 7th of *July*, I was still in Sight of the Island of *Fogo*, which is one of those of *Cape Verde*, it is very high Land on the South-Side, and at a Distance looks like a great Church, with a Steeple at the East-end, which is a vast high Rock, whence before the East-winds blow, there usually breaks out a large Quantity of Fire; as is seen at *Teneriff*, *Vesuvius*, and *Mount Ætna*.”

From this last Country of *Christians* he held on his Course South-west, till he had only five Degrees North Latitude, where he was becalm'd, having till then been continually attended by the above-mention'd Fog.

This Calm lasted eight Days, with such violent Heat, that there was no Man could abide under Deck, and had it not sometimes rain'd, and the Sun been clouded, he thought they should have been burnt up together with the Ships; for the first Day of the Calm, which was fair, the Heat was so excessive, that nothing could have withstood it, had not God been pleas'd miraculously to relieve them with the aforesaid Rain and Fog.

Having therefore got off a little to the Northward, into seven Degrees of Latitude, he resolv'd

solv'd not to make any more to the South, but to sail due West; which he did till *Tuesday* the last of *July*, when thinking the *Caribbee Islands* must certainly be to the North of him, he thought proper not to hold that Course any longer, but to make for *Hispaniola*; not only because he was in great Want of Water, but also because all his Provisions were perish'd, and he was afraid least, during his Absence, some Mutiny or Disorder should happen among the People he had left there, as indeed there had, as shall be shewn hereafter.

Wherefore altering his Course from the West, he stood North, thinking to light on some of the *Caribbee Islands*, there to refresh his Men, and take in Wood and Water, whereof he had great Need.

As he was thus sailing, about Noon the same Day, *Alonzo Perez Nirando*, a Sailor of the Town of *Gullva*, going up to the Round-top, descry'd Land to the Westward, at about 15 Leagues Distance, there appearing three Mountains all at the same Time; but not long after they perceived the same Land stretch'd out towards the North-east, as far as the Eye could reach, neither did that seem to be the End. When having given Thanks to God, and said the *Salve Regina*, with other Prayers, us'd by Seamen in Time of Distress or Joy, the Admiral call'd that Land the Island of the *Trinity*; as well because he had before intended to give that Name to the first Land he found, as in Acknowledgment of the Favour of God, who had been pleas'd to shew him those three Mountains together.

He

He then stood Due-west, to make a Cape that appear'd to the South of him, making for the South-side of the Island, till he came to an Anchor five Leagues beyond a Point, which he call'd *De la Galera*, or, of the Galley, because of a Rock that lay near the Point, and at a Distance look'd like a Galley under sail.

But there being no Conveniency here to take in any Water, and he having but one Cask left for all his Ship's Crew, and the other Ships being in the same Condition, on the *Wednesday* following in the Morning, he continued his Course still West, and cast Anchor at another Point, which he call'd *De la Plaga*, or, of the Strand, where his Men landed, and took Water in a fine, sweet Brook; but without seeing either Town or People there, though along the Coast they left behind they had seen many Houses and Towns. 'Tis true, they found the Marks of some Fishermen, who flying had left behind them Part of their Fishing Tackle. They also saw the Prints of the Feet of Beasts, which seem'd to be those of Goats, and saw the Bones of one; but the Head being without Horns, they thought it might be that of some Catamountain, or Monkey, which they were afterwards confirm'd in, seeing abundance of those Cats in *Paria*.

The same Day, being the 1st of *August*, sailing between *Cape Galera* and that of *La Plaga* southwards, they discover'd the Continent, which was about 22 Leagues distant, as they guess'd; but they, taking it for another Island, call'd it *Isla Santa*, or the *Holy Island*. The Land they saw off the *Trinity*, between the two
Points,

Points, was 30 Leagues in Length East and West, without any Harbour, but all the Country was exceeding pleasant, with Trees down to the Sea-side, and Abundance of Towns. This Space they ran in a very short Time, because the Current of the Sea sets so very violently westward, that it looks like a rapid River both Day and Night, at all Hours, notwithstanding the Tide ebbs and flows along the Shore above 40 Paces, as happens at St. *Lucar de Barrameda*, when there are Floods; for though the Water rise and fall ever so much, yet it never ceases running towards the Sea.

Perceiving they could have no Account of the People of the Country at this Cape, and that there was no Convenience of getting Water, or Provisions, or of careening the Ships; the next Day, being the 2d of *August*, the Admiral went on to another Point of Land, which seem'd to be the most Westerly in that Island, and call'd it *Puntal del Arenal*, where he came to an Anchor, thinking the Easterly Winds, which blow there, would not be so troublesome to the Boats in going backwards and forwards.

On their Way, before they came to this Point, a Canoe began to follow them with 25 Men in it, who, stopping at about a Cannon-Shot Distance, call'd out to them, very loud, as they suppos'd (for they could not understand what they said) to enquire who they were, and whence they came, as the other *Indians* us'd to do.

The *Spaniards* would fain have perswaded these *Indians* to come on board; but finding
11 G g their

their Words and Signs of no Effect, they began to show them several Things, which they imagin'd they might covet, such as little Brass Basins, Looking-glasses, and such other Things as the rest of the *Indians* us'd to make great Account of; but though this drew them a little nearer, yet they soon stopp'd again; and therefore the more to allure them, the Admiral order'd one to get upon the Poop with a Tabor and Pipe, and some young Fellows to dance, which as soon as the *Indians* saw, they put themselves into a Posture of Defence, laying hold of their Targets, and shooting their Arrows at those that danc'd, who, by the Admiral's Command, that those People might not contemn the *Christians* unpunish'd, leaving their Dance, began to shoot with their Cross-Bows in such a Manner, that the *Indians* gladly drew off, and making to another Caraval, clapp'd close to the Side of it without any Apprehension. Whereupon the Pilot of the Ship ventur'd over into the Canoe, and giving them some Trifles, they were so well pleas'd with them, that they told him, if they had been ashore, they would have brought him some Bread from their Houses; after which they return'd towards Land, nor would they in the Ship stop any one of them, for Fear of displeasing the Admiral, who had given express Orders to the contrary. They were a well-shap'd People, and whiter than those of the other Islands; they wear their Hair long, like Women, bound with small Strings, and cover'd their Privities with little Clouts.

As soon as the Ships had anchor'd at *Pantal del Arenal*, the Admiral sent the Boats ashore for Water, and to get some Information of the *Indians*; but they were able to do neither, that Country being very low and unpeopl'd; wherefore order'd them the next Day to dig Trenches in the Island; but by good Luck they found them ready made, and full of excellent Water, which they concluded had been done by the Fishermen.

Having taken what they wanted, he resolv'd to proceed on to another Mouth or Channel; he saw towards the North-west, which he afterwards call'd *Boca del Drago*, or, the *Dragon's Mouth*, to distinguish it from that where he was, to which he had given the Name of *Boca de la Sierpe*, or, the *Serpent's Mouth*.

These two Mouths or Channels, like the *Dardanel*s, are made by the two westernmost Points of the *Trinity Island*, and two others of the Continent, and lie almost North and South of one another. In the midst of that, where the Admiral anchor'd, was another Rock, which he call'd *El Gallo*, or the *Cock*.

Through this Mouth, which he call'd *Boca de la Sierpe*, the Water continually runs as furiously northward, as if it was the Mouth of some great River, which was the Reason of giving it that Name, because of the terrible Fright it put them into. For as they lay very securely, as they thought, at Anchor, there came a stronger Stream of Water than usual, with a hideous Noise, running through that Mouth northward; and another Current running out of the Gulph now call'd *Paria*, oppo-

site to that before-mention'd, they met with a hideous Roar, and caus'd the Sea to swell so high, that it seem'd like a high Mountain, or Ridge of Hills along that Current, which Mountain soon came towards the Ships, to the great Terror of all the Men, who expected nothing less than to be overfet; but it pleas'd God that it pass'd under, or rather list'd them up without doing them any Harm, only it drew the Anchor of one of them, carrying the Vessel away, but by the Help of their Sails they escap'd the Danger, though not without mortal Apprehensions of being lost.

Being pass'd this furious Current, the Admiral, considering the Danger he had been in, stood for the Dragon's Mouth, which is between the North-Point of the Trinity Island, and the East-Point of Paria; yet went not through it at that Time, but sail'd along the South-Coast of Paria westward, believing it to be an Island, and hoping to find a Way out Northwards towards Hispaniola; and though there were many Ports along that Coast, he would put into none, all the Sea there being an Harbour lock'd in with the Continent.

Being at an Anchor on the 5th of *August*, as it was his particular Devotion never to weigh on a *Sunday*, he sent the Boats ashore, where they found abundance of Fruit of the same Kind they had seen in the other Islands, a great Number of Trees, and the Marks of People that had fled for Fear of the *Christians*. But being unwilling to lose Time, he sail'd down the Coast 15 Leagues farther, without going into any Harbour, lest he should miss of a Wind to bring him out.

Being

Being at an Anchor on the Coast, at the End of these 15 Leagues, there came out a Canoe to the Caraval, call'd *El Borreo*, with three Men in it; and the Pilot knowing how much the Admiral coveted to receive some Information from those People, pretending to talk with them, let himself fall into the Canoe, upon which the *Spaniards* in the Boat took those three Men, and carried them to the Admiral, who made very much of them, and loading them with Gifts, sent them ashore again, where there appear'd abundance of *Indians*.

These hearing the good Account the other three gave of the *Christians*, came immediately in their Canoes to barter for such Things as they had, which were much the same as had been seen in the Islands before-mention'd, only that here they had no Targets, nor poison'd Arrows, which are not us'd by these People, but only by the Canibals.

Their Drink was a Sort of Liqueur as white as Milk, and another somewhat blackish, tasting like new Wine, made of Grapes not thorough ripe, but they could not learn of what Fruit it was made. They wore Cotton Cloaths well wove, of divers Colours, about the Bigness of a Handkerchief, some bigger and some less; and what they most admir'd of all the Things they saw aboard were some Brass Trinkets, and especially the Bells. These People seem to be rather more civiliz'd and tractable than those of *Hispaniola*. They cover their Nakedness with one of the above-mention'd Cloaths, and have another wrapp'd about their Heads; but the
Women

Women cover nothing, not even their Privities; and the same they do in the *Trinity Island*.

There was nothing of Value seen here, except some little Plates of Gold, which the *Indians* hung about their Necks; wherefore because the Admiral could not stay to enquire farther into the Nature of the Country, he order'd six of these *Indians* to be taken, and continued his Voyage westward, with a Persuasion that the Land of *Paria*, which he call'd the *Holy Island*, was not a Continent.

Soon after another Island appear'd towards the South, and another as large as that towards the West, all high Land, cultivated and well peopl'd. These *Indians* had more Plates of Gold about their Necks than the others, and abundance of *Guaninis*, which were but indifferent Gold. This they said was produc'd in other Western Islands, inhabited by Canibals or Man-Eaters.

The Women had Strings of Beads about their Arms, and among them a great many very fine Pearls, large and small, some of which were got in Exchange, to send their *Catholick* Majesties as a Sample.

Being ask'd where they found those Things, they made Signs to shew they were found in the Oyster-Shells taken West of that Land of *Paria*, and beyond it towards the North. Whereupon the Admiral thought proper to make a little Stay there, to inform himself farther concerning that precious Discovery, and accordingly sent the Boats ashore, where all the People of the Country, that had flock'd together, receiv'd them in the most friendly Manner, im-
portuning

portuning the *Christians* to go along with them to a House not far off, where they treated them with Plenty of Eatables, and a great deal of the aforesaid Wine of theirs.

From this House, which 'tis probable was the King's Palace, they carried them to another which was his Son's, and shew'd them the same Kindness. They were all in general of a whiter Complexion than any of the other *Indians*, and of better Aspects and Shapes, with their Hair cut short by the Ears, after the *Spanish* Fashion. From them the *Spaniards* understood that the Land was call'd *Paria*, and that the People would be glad to be in Amity with the *Christians*, which Civilities the *Spaniards* having answer'd, with a few Presents, return'd to their Ships.

The Admiral holding on his Voyage westward, they still found less and less Water, inso-much that being come through four or five Fathom, they found but two and a half at ebb; the Tide being different from that at the *Trinity-Island*; for at the *Trinity*, the Water swell'd three Fathom, and here, being 45 Leagues to the Westward, it rose but one; there, whether Ebb or Flow, the Current always ran West; and here upon the Ebb, it ran East, and upon the Flood West; to which must be added, that the Water there was a little brackish, whereas here it was like River Water.

The Admiral perceiving this Difference, and how little Water he found, durst not proceed any farther in his Ship, which requir'd three Fathom Water, being of 100 Ton, and therefore came to an Anchor on that Coast, which
was

was very secure, being a Port like a Horseshoe, lock'd in with the Land on all Sides.

However, though he would not venture himself, he sent the little Caraval, call'd *El Borreo*, or the *Post*, to discover whether there was any Pass westward, which having gone but a little Way, return'd the next Day, being the 11th of *August*, with Advice that at the westernmost Point of that Sea there was a Mouth or Opening, two Leagues over from North to South, and within it a round Bay, with four other little Bays, one toward each Quarter of the Heavens; that from each of these flow'd a River, whose Water made that Sea so sweet, which was yet much sweeter farther in; and that all that Land which seem'd to be Islands, was one and the same Continent; adding, that they had every where four or five Fathom Water, and such Abundance of those Weeds which they had seen in the Ocean, that they hinder'd their Sailing.

The Admiral therefore, being assur'd he could not get out westward, stood back that same Day to the Eastward, intending to pass the Streight which he saw between *Paria* and the Island *Trinity*. The Reason why he call'd this the *Dragon's-Mouth* was, because it is exceeding dangerous, on Account of the Abundance of fresh Water that struggles to get out there into the Sea, and makes three boisterous Channels, extending from East to West, the Breadth of the Streight; and because as he was Sailing through, the Wind failing him, he was in great Danger of being drove upon the Sands or Rocks. Wherefore he gave it a Name both agreeable

agreeable to its Nature, and answerable to that of the other Mouth, where he had been in no less Danger, as was before related. But it pleas'd God, that what they most dreaded prov'd their greatest Safety, the Strength of the Current carrying them off.

After this, on *Monday* the 17th of *August*, he began to sail westward along the Coast of *Paria*, in order afterwards to stand over for *Hispaniola*, giving Thanks to God who had deliver'd him from so many Troubles and Dangers, still shewing him new Countries full of peaceable People, and great Wealth, especially that, which he now concluded was certainly the Continent, because of the great Extent of that *Gulph of Pearls*, the Number of Rivers that ran from it, and the Sweetness of the Sea-water; not to mention that the *Indians* of the *Caribbee Islands* had before told him, *There was a vast Land Southward.*

Sailing thus along the Coast of *Paria*, he still fell farther off from it towards the North-west, the Currents, it being calm, driving him that Way; so that on *Wednesday* the 15th of *August*, he left the Cape call'd *De las Conchas*, or of *Shells*, South of him, and the Island *Margarita* West, close by which lies that of *Cubagua*, where an infinite Quantity of Pearls has been found.

Holding on his Course, he pass'd by six Islands which he call'd *Las Guardas*, or the *Guards*; and three others more to the North, which he call'd *Los Testigos*, or the *Witnesses*. And though they still discover'd a great deal of the Land of *Paria* westward, yet the Admiral

tells us in his Journal, that he could not from this Time give such an Account of it as he could wish, because through over-much Watching his Eyes were inflam'd, and therefore he was forc'd to take most of his Observations from the Sailors and Pilots. Adding, that this same Night, being *Thursday* the 16th of *August*, the Compasses, which till now had not varied, did vary at this Time at least a Point and Half, and some of them two Points, wherein there could be no Mistake, because several Persons had always watched to observe them.

Admiring at this, and vex'd that he had not the Opportunity of following the Coast of the Continent, he held on his Course North-west, till on *Monday* the 20th of *August*, he came to an Anchor between *Beaca* and *Hispaniola*, whence he sent a Letter, by some *Indians*, to his Brother the *Adelantado*, to acquaint him with his safe Arrival and Success.

Mean-time he was very much surpriz'd to find himself so far westward; for though he knew the Force of the Currents was decreas'd, yet he did not think it had been so much. Therefore to the End his Provisions might not fail him in Time of need, he stood to the Eastward for *St. Domingo*, into which Harbour he enter'd on the 30th of *August*; it being here his Brother the Lieutenant had appointed a City to be built, on the East-Side of the River, where it stands at present, which was call'd *Santo Domingo*, in Memory of his Father, whose Name was *Dominick*.

The Admiral being thus arrived at *St. Domingo*, almost blind with over-watching, hoped there

there to rest himself after his Voyage, and to enjoy himself among his People; but found every Thing quite contrary to his Expectation, all the People in the Island being in Disorder and Rebellion, through the Means of one *Francis Roldan*, who had drawn a great Party after him; besides which abundance of those he had left there were dead, and of those that remain'd, above 160 were sick of the *French-Pox*; and to compleat his Surprize and Vexation, neither did he find there the three Ships, which, as we have already mention'd, he sent before him from the *Canary Islands*.

But to give an Account of these Things, it is necessary we begin from the Time the Admiral set out for *Spain*, which, as we have already said, was in *March 1496*. 30 Months before his Return.

The first Part of this Time the People continued pretty easy and quiet, in hopes of his Return, and of being speedily reliev'd; but after the first Year, their *Spanish* Provisions being gone, and their Sicknes and Hardships encreasing, they not only began to murmur at their present Condition, but to despair of its being better. Whereupon numerous Complaints arose, which (as Incendiaries are seldom wanting upon such Occasions) were eagerly fomented by the aforesaid *Roldan*, whom the Admiral had left in such Power among both *Christians* and *Indians*, by making him chief Justice, that he was as much obey'd as the Lieutenant, whom he mortally hated, as being the only Person capable of opposing his ambitious Designs. For hearing nothing of the Admiral, he began to

H h 2

think

think of possessing himself of the Island, intending for this Purpose to murder the Admiral's Brothers, and only waited an Opportunity to put his Project in Execution.

It happen'd about this Time that the Lieutenant went to a Province in the West Part of the Island, call'd *Xaragua*, 80 Leagues from *Isabella*, where the said *Roldan* remain'd in his Employ, but subordinate to *Don James*, the Admiral's second Brother. This *Roldan* was so offended at, that whilst the Lieutenant was regulating how the Kings of the Island should pay Tribute to their *Catholick* Majesties, as the Admiral had rated all the *Indians*, *Roldan* began under-hand to draw some of them over to his Party. But that it might not prove fatal to rise on a sudden, and without some Pretence, he laid hold on this; the Lieutenant had built a Caraval at *Isabella*, to send to *Spain* in Case of Necessity, but not being able to launch it for want of Tackling and other Necessaries, *Roldan* gave out, there was some other Reason for it, and that it was absolutely requisite the Caraval should be fitted out, that some of them might go in it to *Spain*, to give an Account of their Sufferings.

Thus under Pretence of the Publick Good, he press'd what he knew was impossible, and *Don James Columbus* not consenting for the aforesaid Reason, he began openly to treat with several about launching it in Spight of him, telling them that if the Lieutenant and *Don James* were displeas'd at it, the Reason was because they would secure to themselves the Dominion of the Country, and keep them in Subjection, without any Ship that might carry the

News

News of their Revolt to their *Catholic* Majesties; and since they were convinc'd, by Experience, of the Cruelty and Ill-nature of the Lieutenant, who led them such a restless Life in building Towns and Forts, &c. and since they had no Hopes of the Admiral's Return, it was high Time they should seize the Caraval and procure their Liberties, and not suffer themselves, under Pretence of Pay, which they never receiv'd, to be kept under by a Foreigner, when it was in their Power to live as they pleas'd; for whatsoever could be had in the Island would be equally divided among them, and they would be serv'd by the *Indians* to their own Content, without being in such servile Subjection, that they could not so much as take to Wife an *Indian* Woman they fancy'd. Adding, that the Lieutenant oblig'd them to keep the three Vows of religious Men, besides which, they wanted not for Fasts and Disciplines, as also Imprisonments, and other Punishments, which they endur'd for the least Fault. Wherefore, since he had the Rod of Justice and regal Authority, which was a Security against any Thing that might befall them on this Account, he advis'd them in every Thing to follow his Directions, which if they did they could not do amiss.

With these, and such like Words, he drew so many over to his Party, that one Day when the Lieutenant was return'd from *Xaragua* to *Isabella*, a Number of them conspir'd to stab him, looking upon it as so easy a Matter, that they provided a Halter before-hand to hang him up after he was dead. What particularly incens'd them was the Imprisonment of one of their Friends

Friends, nam'd *Barabona*, against whom, had not Providence put it into the Lieutenant's Heart, not to proceed to Execution at that Time, he had certainly fell a Sacrifice to their Resentment.

Roldan, perceiving the Lieutenant had escap'd him, determin'd to possess himself of the Town and Fort of the *Conception*, from whence he thought he might easily subdue the Island, and, as it happen'd, he was then near the said Town; for while the Lieutenant was abroad, he was sent, with 40 Men into that Province, to reduce the *Indians* that had revolted, with the same Design of seizing the Town, and destroying the *Christians*. So that *Roldan*, under Cover of putting a Stop to this Evil, and punishing the *Indians*, assembled his Men at the Residence of one of their Caciques, nam'd *Marche*, intending to put his Project in Execution the first Opportunity. But *Ballester*, the Commander of the Fort, having some Suspicion of his Design, stood upon his Guard, and sent word to the Lieutenant of the Danger he was in, who, with all Speed, and what Men he could gather on the sudden, threw himself into the Fort.

But notwithstanding his Conspiracy was thus plainly discover'd, yet so fearless was *Roldan* of the Lieutenant's Resentment, that he boldly went to him to the Fort, though rather as a Spy, than through any Desire of coming to an Accommodation, and, with more Insolence than ever, requir'd him to cause the Caraval to be launch'd, or otherwise to give him and his Friends Leave to do it. To this the Lieutenant mildly answer'd, that neither he nor his
Friends

Friends were Seamen, and consequently could be no Judges what was proper to be done in that Case; and that though they had known how to launch it, yet they could not possibly sail in her, for want of Rigging and other Necessaries; and that therefore it would be only exposing the Men and the Caraval to no purpose. But the other still insisting upon his Demand, high Words arose, and *Roldan* went away in a very great Passion, refusing to resign his Rod of Justice, or stand Trial as the Lieutenant commanded, saying he would do both, when their Majesties, whose the Island was, should call upon him; but that he could expect no Justice from the Lieutenant, who he knew, right or wrong, would find some Pretence or other to put him to Death; however, that he might not exceed the Bounds of Reason, he would go, in the mean-time, and reside where he should bid him. But this was nothing but Grimace; for no sooner had the Lieutenant fix'd upon a Place for his Residence, but he refus'd it, excusing himself that there were not Provisions enough for his Men, and that he himself would find out a more convenient Abode.

Accordingly he set out for *Isabella* with 65 Men whom he had got together, when, perceiving he could not launch the Caraval, he plunder'd the Magazines, he and his Followers taking away what Arms, Stuffs, and Provisions they thought fit; for though *Don James Columbus* was there, yet he was so far from being able to oppose him, that he was forc'd, for his own Safety, to retire into the Fort with what Friends and Servants he had. Though others say,

say, That *Roldan* offer'd to submit to him, provided he would take his Part against his Brother, which he refusing, and *Roldan* not being able to do him any farther Mischief, as likewise fearing the Succours that were coming from the Lieutenant, he left the Town, with his Mutineers, and falling on the Cattle that were grazing thereabouts, they kill'd such as they lik'd to eat, and took the Beasts of Burthen to serve them in their Journey, resolving to go and settle in the Province of *Xaragua*, whence the Lieutenant was lately return'd; not only because it was the pleasanter and most civiliz'd Part of the Island, and the best stor'd with Provisions; but above all, because the Women there were the handsomest and of the most pleasing conversation. However, that they might not go without making some Trial of their Strength, before the Lieutenant could encrease his power, and chastise them as they deserved, they determin'd in their Way to surprize the Town of the Conception, and kill the Lieutenant, and in case this could not be effected, to besiege him. But the Lieutenant, having Intelligence of their Design, stood upon his Guard, encouraging his Men with the Promise of large Rewards to do their Duty; and as he understood, that many of those that were with him, lik'd the Life *Roldan* and his Men led so well, that some of them had given Ear to his Messages, whence *Roldan* conceiv'd great Hopes of their Revolt, he determin'd to prevent them by striking the first Stroke, for which Purpose having gathered his Men together, he march'd out of Town to attack the rebels.

But

But *Roldan* perceiving that none of the Lieutenant's Men revolted as he expected, durst not stay to face him, but made the best of his Way to *Xaragua*, as he at first intended, stirring up the *Indians* to rebel wherever he went; telling them the Reason of his forsaking the Lieutenant was, his being a Man naturally revengeful and untractable, as well towards the *Christians*, as *Indians*, and abominably covetous, imposing intolerable Burthens and Tributes upon them, which if they once bore, would be encreas'd every Year, though against the Will of their *Catholick* Majesties, who required nothing from their Subjects but Obedience, leaving them in every other Respect, at full Liberty, which if they apprehended they should not be able to maintain, he, with his Friends and Followers, would help them to assert, and that he would declare himself their Protector and Deliverer.

With these, and such like Contumelies, he so spirited up the *Indians*, that several of the Caciques openly forbad the paying the Tribute that had been agreed upon, by which means it could not be gathered of those that liv'd far from the Lieutenant; nor durst he exact it of those round about him, for Fear of provoking them to join with the Rebels.

But this Moderation had not the desir'd Effect; for no sooner was the Lieutenant gone from the *Conception*, but *Guarionex*, one of the principal Caciques of that Province, with the Assistance of *Roldan*, resolv'd to seize the Fort, and destroy the *Christians* that kept it. The better to effect this, he assembled all the Caciques of his Party, and agreed with them privately

vately, that every one, at an appointed Time, should kill those that were within his Precinct; for the Territories of the Caciques being too small for any of them to maintain a great Number of People, the *Christians* had been oblig'd to divide themselves into small Companies, of eight or nine in each Company, which gave the *Indians* Hopes, that surprizing them all at the same Time, it would be impossible for any to escape.

The Time fix'd upon for the Execution of this Plot, was the next full Moon, but one of the chief of these Caciques being desirous of Honour, and not being a very good Astro-nomer to know when the Moon was at the Full, fell on before the Time appointed, and after many Blows was forc'd to fly; when thinking to find his Safety with *Guarionex*, he found his Ruin; for he immediately put him to Death, as indeed he deserv'd, for having discover'd the Conspiracy, and occasion'd the *Christians* to be upon their Guard.

The Rebels, as well as the *Indians*, were not a little concern'd at the Miscarriage of this horrid Design; for, as we have already mention'd, it had been contriv'd with their Consent, and they only waited to see, whether *Guarionex* brought Affairs to such an Issue, that joining with him they might destroy the Lieutenant: But perceiving their Hopes blasted, they thought themselves unsafe in the Province they were in, wherefore they hasted towards *Xaragua*, still proclaiming themselves Protectors of the *Indians*, whereas they were no better than Thieves both in their Actions and Inclinations,
every

every one stealing what he could, and *Roldan* their Leader more than all of them together; for under Pretence of defending the *Indians* from paying the Tribute demanded by the Lieutenant, he took a great deal more from them; for only from one Cacique, whose Name was *Manicaotex*, he exacted every three Months a Calabash of pure Gold, containing a Pound and half, and to be the surer of him, kept his Son and Nephew as Hostages.

The Christians being thus divided into Factions, and no Ships coming from *Spain* with Supplies, as was expected, neither the Lieutenant nor his Brother *Don James* could keep the People quiet that remain'd with them; for most of them being mean Persons, and secret Favourers of *Roldan*, they durst not punish the Guilty for Fear of being utterly forsaken, which so increas'd their Insolence, that instead of keeping them in order, they were forc'd to bear almost any Affront they pleas'd to put upon them.

In this Juncture it pleas'd God to comfort them a little by the Arrival of the two Ships, which, as we have already said, had been sent from *Spain*, about a Year after the Admiral's Departure from the *Indies*, though not without great Application made by him to the Court for that Purpose; for he, considering the Disposition of the People he had left behind, and the Dangers that might occur from his long Absence, never left soliciting their *Catholick* Majesties, till he had obtain'd that these two Ships might be sent before, out of the eighteen he had been order'd to fit out.

They could never have come at a better Time for the Lieutenant and his Brother; for the Supplies they brought of Men and Provisions, and the Assurances they gave of the Admiral's being safe arriv'd in *Spain*, not only encourag'd those that were with the Lieutenant to serve him more faithfully, but likewise made those that follow'd *Roldan* begin to apprehend they should not always go unpunish'd.

Wherefore being very desirous to hear what News they could, and in particular hoping to draw some of the New-comers over to their Side, they resolv'd to repair to *St. Domingo*, where the Ships put in; but the Lieutenant having Intelligence of their Motions, and being nearer the Harbour than they, immediately march'd to hinder their Passage, and having left Guards at all the Passes, went to the Port to see the Ships, and settle the Affairs of that Place.

Mean-time, as he earnestly wish'd that the Admiral should find the Island in a peaceable Condition, and all Troubles ended, he again made new Overtures to *Roldan*, who was six Leagues off with his Men, sending to him for that Purpose the Commander of the two Ships lately arriv'd, whose Name was *Pedro Fernandez Coronel*; as well because he was a Man of Worth and in Authority, as because he hoped his Words would carry more Weight, since he, as an Eye-witness, could not only certify them of the Admiral's Arrival in *Spain*, but likewise of the good Reception he had met with from their *Catholick* Majesties, and the Inclination

nation they shew'd to heap still greater Honours upon him.

But the chief Men among the Rebels, fearing the Impression this Messenger might make upon their Followers, would not suffer him to speak in publick; to prevent which they receiv'd him with their Bows and Arrows upon the Road, so that he could only speak a few Words to those that were deputed to hear him, and was forc'd to return to the Town without effecting any thing.

It happen'd, about this Time, that the three Ships which had parted from the Admiral at the *Canary Islands*, as we have already taken Notice, being carried out of their Way to *St. Domingo* by the Currents, and the Mistake of their Pilots, who were not so well acquainted with the Voyage as they have been since, arriv'd upon the Coast of *Xaragua*, where the Rebels were, who, as soon as they understood those Ships were out of their Way, and knew nothing of their Revolt, some of them went on board, pretending they were there by the Lieutenants Orders, the better to be supplied with Provisions, and to keep that Province in Subjection.

But it being no difficult Matter for a Secret that is among many to be discover'd, *Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal*, one of the chief Captains of those Ships, was soon aware of their unnatural Rebellion, and immediately began to make Overtures of Peace to *Roldan*, thinking by that means to persuade him to submit to the Lieutenant. But the familiar Conversation the Rebels had before entertain'd aboard the Ships, was the Cause that countermin'd his Endeavours;

vours; for *Roldan* had already obtain'd private Promises from many of these that came fresh out of *Spain*, that they would come over to him, by which Accession he hoped to become still more formidable.

Carvajal therefore, finding there was no Prospect of a speedy Accommodation, thought proper, with the Advice of the other two Captains, that the People they had brought to work for Pay in the Mines, and for other Employments, should go by Land to *St. Domingo*, by Reason the Winds and Currents were set so strong against that Voyage, that it was probable they might not be able to perform it in two or three Months, so that they should not only consume the Provisions, but the Men might fall sick, and that Time be lost which ought to be employ'd in the Service they came for.

This being concluded upon, it fell to the Lot of *Don John Anthony Columbus* to march with the Men, who were 40 in Number, to *Arana's* to sail about with the Ships; and to *Carvajal's* to stay behind, and endeavour to bring the Rebels to a Sense of their Duty.

Accordingly *Don John Columbus* landed with his Men, and the second Day after set forward on his Way to *St. Domingo*, when immediately those Labourers and Vagabonds, sent over to work, deserted in a Body to the Rebels, leaving their Captain, with only six or seven Men that stuck to him.

Don John being extremely incens'd at this Infidelity, without apprehending any Danger, went directly to *Roldan*, and expostulated with him, that since he pretended to promote
the

the Service of their *Catholick* Majesties, it was not reasonable he should suffer those Men that were come to people and cultivate the Country, and to follow their Callings, with Wages in Hand, to stay there and lose their Time, without doing any thing of the Business they came for; whereas, if he turn'd them away, it would be an evident Token that his Words and Actions agreed, and that it was only his Stay there which occasion'd his Quarrel with the Lieutenant, and not any Inclination in him to obstruct their Majesties Service.

but what had happen'd being greatly to the Advantage of *Roldan* and his Followers, as well for the carrying on their Design, as because the Crime committed by many is generally the soonest conniv'd at; he excus'd himself as to that Point, alledging, that his was a religious Order which refus'd no Man, and that he could by no means use any Violence towards them. Whereupon *Don John*, thinking he might run too great a Hazard by pressing the Thing any farther, determin'd to go on board again with those few that follow'd him; and that they might not be drawn away in the same Manner, it was immediately agreed amongst the Captains, that the two Ships should sail directly towards *St. Domingo*, which they did with the Wind as contrary as they had fear'd; for they not only spent a great many Days, and spoil'd their Provisions, but *Carvajal's* Ship was very much damag'd upon certain Sands, where she lost her Rudder, and sprung a Leak, so that it was with the utmost Difficulty they brought her in.

However,

However, when they arriv'd at *St. Domingo*, they had the Satisfaction to find the Admiral there, who was just return'd from the Discovery of the Continent. He had already been inform'd of the State of the Rebels, and having seen the Process his Lieutenant had made against them, though the Crime deserv'd an exemplary Punishment, yet he thought fit to form a new one, and to send an Account of it to their Majesties, resolving at the same Time to behave with all the Moderation he could, and to reduce them, if possible, by fair Means.

To this End, and that neither they nor any others might have the least Room to complain of him, or pretend he kept them there by Force, he caus'd Proclamation to be made the 12th of *September*, by which he gave Leave to all that would, to return into *Spain*, promising them a free Passage and Provisions; and so much as he was inform'd, that *Roldan* was marching towards *St. Domingo*, with some of his Men, he sent to *Michael Ballester*, the Commander of that Town, and the Fort of the *Conception*, to be upon his Guard; ordering him at the same Time, that if *Roldan* came that Way, he should tell him from the Admiral, " That he was very sorry for what had
 " happen'd, but that a general Pardon should
 " be granted to all, desiring him to come away
 " immediately to the Admiral, without fearing
 " any Thing, that by his Advice Things might
 " be order'd for their Majesties Service; and
 " that if he required any safe Conduct it should
 " be

“ be sent him in such a Form as he himself
“ thought proper.”

In answer to this, *Ballester* sent Word on the 14th of *February*, that he had receiv'd certain Intelligence, that one of the chief of the Rebels, nam'd *Riquelme*, was the Day before come to the Town of *Bonao*, and that *Adrian* and *Roldan*, the other two Ringleaders, were expected there in seven or eight Days, when he would not fail to give them the Meeting, and confer with them.

But this Interview was to no more Purpose than any of the former; for having discours'd them according to his Instruction, he found them obstinate and unmannerly to the last Degree, *Roldan* plainly telling him, that they were not come to treat, and that they neither desir'd nor car'd for peace; for, as to the Admiral's Authority it was in his Hands, either to support, or suppress it, as he pleas'd; and that therefore they must not talk to him of any Accommodation, till they had first sent him all the *Indians* taken at the Siege of the *Conception*, since they were only assembled there, to serve their Majesties, upon his promise of security. Adding several other Things by which it appear'd, that he had no Intention to agree upon any other than very unreasonable Terms. To which Purpose he demanded that the Admiral should send *Carvajal* to him, affirming that he would treat with no other, he being a discreet Man and one that would hear Reason, as he had already experienc'd, during the time the three Ships were at *Xaragua*.

This Answer, whether contriv'd for that Purpose or not, occasion'd a little Jealousy in the Admiral concerning *Carvajal*, and indeed not without some Appearance.

First, Because several of the Rebels, before *Carvajal* was at *Xaragua*, as soon as they heard there were two Ships come to the Assistance of the Lieutenant, often writ and sent Messages to their Friends that were with him, to assure them, that they would surrender themselves as soon as the Admiral arriv'd, desiring their Intercession to appease him; and that therefore their not performing it must be owing to the long Conference *Carvajal* had with them.

Secondly, because, had he done his Duty, he might have detain'd *Roldan*, and the chief Men of his Party Prisoners aboard his Caraval, they having been there two whole Days without any Security given for their Return.

Thirdly, Because, knowing they were in open Rebellion, he had suffer'd them to buy aboard the Ships 56 Swords, and 60 Cross-bows.

Fourthly, Because, there having been a strong Rumour that the Men who were to land with *Don John Anthony Columbus*, to go to *St. Domingo*, would join the Rebels, he ought not to have suffer'd them to land, or ~~at~~ least when they were gone over to them, he ought to have been more industrious in his Endeavours to recover them.

Fifthly, because he gave out that he came to the *Indies* as Companion to the Admiral, who might do nothing without him.

Sixthly,

Sixthly, Because *Roldan* had writ to the Admiral by *Carvajal* himself, to acquaint him, that he was drawing near *St. Domingo* with his Men, by the Advice of *Carvajal*, to be the nearer to treat of an Accommodation, when the Admiral arriv'd; and that now he was come, *Roldan's* Actions not suiting with his Letter, it rather seem'd as if *Carvajal* had invited him thither, to the End that if the Admiral had been long in coming, or had not come at all, he, as the Admiral's Associate, and *Roldan* as chief Justice, might have govern'd the Island in despite of the Lieutenant.

Seventhly, Because at the same Time that the other Captains sail'd round with the three Caravals to *St. Domingo*, he came by Land, attended by a Guard of the Rebels, and one of the chief of them, nam'd *Gamir*, who had been two Days and two Nights with him aboard his Ship.

Eighthly, Because he writ to the Rebels, after they came to *Bonao*, and sent them Presents and Provisions.

Ninthly and lastly, Because the Rebels, besides their refusing to treat with any body else, had all unanimously affirm'd, that if there had been Occasion, they would have taken him for their Captain.

Notwithstanding this, the Admiral, on the other Hand, considering that all these Suggestions, though very specious, might perhaps be easily answer'd, and having always found *Carvajal* a discreet and prudent Gentleman, was far from encouraging his Suspicions. On the contrary, being very desirous to put out the

Fire of Rebellion, with the Advice of his principal Men, he again sent *Carvajal* with *Ballester*, to treat with *Roldan*.

That Rebel receiv'd them with his usual Haughtiness, telling them directly, that since they had not brought the *Indians* he demanded, he would not hear of any Accommodation; to which *Carvajal* discreetly answering, made such a moving Discourse, that he wrought upon *Roldan*, and three or four of the chief Men of his Party, to consent to go with them to the Admiral, in order to make some Agreement. But the other Rebels disliking of it, as *Roldan* and his Companions were mounting their Horses to go with *Carvajal* to the Admiral, they withstood them, crying out, they would not suffer them to go; but if any Agreement was to be made, it should be drawn up in Writing, that they might all know what was transacting.

Accordingly, after a few Days spent in Deliberation, on the 20th of *October*, *Roldan*, by the Consent of all his Men, writ a Letter to the Admiral, wherein he laid the Blame of their Separation entirely upon the Lieutenant, telling the Admiral, that since he had not sent them a Security in Writing, to come and give an Account of themselves, they had determin'd to send their Demands in Writing, which they hop'd he would not refuse them.

Notwithstanding these Proposals were extravagant and insolent to a high Degree, yet the Commander *Ballester* writ the next Day to the Admiral, extolling *Carvajal's* moving Discourse; adding, that since it was not of Force enough

to

to dissuade those People from their wicked Design, nothing less than granting them their Demands could prevail; for he found them so confident, that he look'd upon it as certain that most of the People that were with his Lordship, would go over to the Rebels: And though he might rely on his Servants and Men of Honour, yet they would not be able to withstand such a Number, many resorting to them daily, which the Admiral was already too sensible of, by Experience; for when he muster'd all that were fit to bear Arms, on the News of *Roldan's* marching towards *St. Domingo*, he observ'd that some feign'd themselves sick, and some lame, so that he could raise no more than 70 Men, of which Number there were but 40 that he could confide in.

Wherefore instead of expressing any Resentment at the Insolence of their Demands, he answer'd *Roldan* with great Civility; telling him, That he had not committed his Mind to Writing, for Fear of some Inconvenience, if the Letter should be seen by the common Sort; but that he had sent him a Person in whom he might confide as much as in his Hand and Seal; which was the Commander *Ballester*, to whom he desir'd him to give entire Credit; but that an Interview being the readiest way to put an End to all Misunderstandings, he wish'd to see him as soon as possible, having for that Purpose sent him such a safe Conduct as he requir'd.

Roldan having receiv'd his Safe-Conduct, which was sign'd, not only by the Admiral, but all the chief Men about him, soon after came to *St. Domingo*, but rather with a Design to seduce

duce some body over to him, than to conclude upon any Agreement, as appear'd by the extravagance of his Proposals, which he only made, because he knew they would not be accepted. After which he departed, saying, he would give his Companions an Account of his Negotiation, and write word what they resolv'd upon. And that there might be some body on the Admiral's Side, to treat with the Rebels, and sign what should be agreed upon, the Admiral commission'd his Steward for that Purpose, whose Name was *Salamanca*.

After much Talk among the Rebels, *Roldan* sent new Articles of Agreement for the Admiral to subscribe; telling him that was all he could obtain from his People; and that if his Lordship thought fit to grant them, he should send his Assent to the Conception; for at *Bonao* they had no longer Provisions to subsist on, and they would expect his Answer till the next Monday.

The Admiral, having read over these Articles, and finding them as dishonourable as he fear'd, would by no means grant them, least he should bring his Authority into Contempt. But that they might have no room to complain, or say he was too untractable in this Affair, he order'd a general Pardon to be proclaim'd, and to remain fix'd upon the Gates of the Fort for 30 Days, the Purport of which was as follows;

“ That forasmuch as during his Absence in
 “ *Spain*, some Differences had arisen between
 “ the Lieutenant, and the chief Justice *Rol-*
 “ *dan*, together with several other Persons
 “ who had fled with him; yet notwithstanding

“ing the said Differences, they might all in
“general, and every one in particular, safely
“return to serve their *Catholick* Majesties, as
“if no such Thing had ever happen'd. And
“that whosoever would go into *Spain*, should
“have his Passage, with an Order to receive
“his Pay, as was usual with others. Provided
“nevertheless, that they presented themselves
“before the Admiral within 30 Days, to re-
“ceive the Benefit of this Pardon, otherwise
“they should be proceeded against according
“to Course of Law.”

This Pardon, subscrib'd by himself, he sent to *Roldan* by *Carvajal*, giving him in Writing the Reasons why he neither could, nor ought to grant the Articles they had sent him; at the same Time putting him in mind of his duty, and what they ow'd to their Majesties Service. But the Rebels, who were as haughty as ever, only laugh'd at his Pardon, giving out that the Admiral should soon have Occasion to ask one of them.

All this while, which was about three Weeks, under Pretence of apprehending a Man whom *Roldan* would execute, they had kept the Commander *Ballester* besieg'd in the Fort, and had cut off his Water, believing the Want of it would oblige him to surrender; but upon *Carvajal's* Arrival, they rais'd the Siege, and after many Debates on both Sides, came at length to the following Conclusion.

1. That the Admiral should give *Roldan* two good Ships, to carry him and his Companions to *Spain*, and that those should be deliver'd to him in good Order at the Port of *Xaragua*; because

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because most of his Followers were there, and because there was no other Port so convenient for the providing and preparing Provisions and other Necessaries.

2. That his Lordship should give an Order for the Payment of all their Salaries till that Day, with Letters of Recommendation to their *Catholick* Majesties, that they might cause them to be paid.

3. That he should give them Slaves, for the Services they had done in the Island, and in Recompence of their Sufferings; and that he should record the said Gift. And because some of them had Women big with Child, or already deliver'd; if they carry'd the said Women away, they should pass amongst such Slaves to be given them; and the Children should be free, and go along with them.

4. That his Lordship should store the said Ships, with the same Quantity of Provisions as had been given to others before; and because he could not furnish them with Bread, that the Judge and his Company should have Leave to provide themselves in the Country; and moreover, that they should have 30 Hundred Weight of Bisket allow'd them, or for want of it, 30 Sacks of Corn; to the End, that if the Carabi, or *Indian* Bread should spoil, as might easily happen, they might subsist upon the aforesaid Bisket or Corn.

5. That his Lordship should give a Safe-Conduct to all such Persons as should come to receive the Orders for their Pay.

6. That

6. That he should order immediate Restitution to be made of the Goods that had been seiz'd, belonging to any of *Roldan's* Party.

7. That his Lordship should write a Letter to their *Catholick* Majesties, acquainting them, That the said *Roldan's* Swine remain'd in the Island, for the Provision of the Inhabitants, being in Number 150, great and small, praying their Majesties to allow him for them the same Price they would have bore in the Island. These Swine were taken from him in *February*, 1498.

8. That his Lordship should give the said *Roldan* full Authority to sell such Goods as he had to part with, before he went, or to dispose of them as he pleas'd, or to leave them behind, for his own Use, with whom he thought proper, to make the best of them.

9. That forasmuch as the said *Roldan* and his Company had Reason to mistrust, that his Lordship, or some other Person by his Order, might offer them some Violence, by means of the other Ships that were in the Island, he should therefore grant them a Pass, or Safe-conduct, promising them in their Majesties Name, and upon his own Faith, and the Word of a Gentleman, as is customary in *Spain*, that neither his Lordship, nor any other Person by his Order, should offer them the least Violence, or obstruct their Voyage.

The Admiral, having perus'd these Articles, with the Advice of his principal Captains, ratify'd them on *Wednesday* the 21st of *November*, on Condition that neither the said *Roldan*, nor any of his Company, should admit amongst

them any other *Christian* of the Island, of any State or Condition whatsoever.

The Articles which *Roldan* subscrib'd, on the Part of the Rebels, were as follows.

1. That after the Ratification of the Articles by the Admiral, they would not admit amongst them any Person whatsoever of those that were with his Lordship.

2. That within fifty Days after the Arrival of the said Ratification at the *Conception*, they would embark and set sail for *Spain*.

3. That none of the Slaves freely granted them, should be carried away by Force.

4. That whereas the Admiral would not be at the Port where they were to embark, the Person or Persons his Lordship should send thither, should be honour'd and respected as their Majesties and his Lordships Officers, to whom an Account should be given of all they put aboard the Ships, that they might enter it, and act in that Particular as his Lordship thought fit; and that they would deliver to them such Things as they had in their Hands belonging to their Majesties.

Matters being thus adjusted, *Carvajal* and *Salamanca* return'd to *St. Domingo* to the Admiral; and on the 24th of *November* the Commander *Ballester* deliver'd the Admiral's Ratification of the Articles to *Roldan* and his Company at the *Conception*, who, having receiv'd them, went away towards *Xaragua*, to prepare for their Departure, as they pretended.

Mean-time the Admiral, though he was very much concern'd, that the good Services his Brother might have done, in continuing the Discovery

covery of the Continent of *Paria*, and settling the Pearl-Fishery and Trade there, should be obstructed by giving them those Ships, yet was resolv'd they should have no Occasion to blame him, or cry out, that he had refus'd them their Passage; wherefore he gave immediate Orders for fitting out the Ships according to Agreement, and because the Equipment of them was somewhat retarded for want of Necessaries, he order'd *Carvajal* to go before, by Land, to provide and dispose all Things ready for the Departure of the Rebels, while the Ships came about, giving him an ample Commission for that Purpose; designing himself to go in a short Time to *Isabella*, to settle Affairs there, while his Brother *James* stay'd at *St. Domingo* to look to that Place.

Soon after his Departure, which was about the End of *January*, the two Caravals, being furnish'd with all Necessaries for the Voyage, set out to take up the Rebels; but a great Storm rising by the Way, they were oblig'd to put into another Port till the End of *March*; and because one of the Caravals, call'd the *Ninna*, had sustain'd some Damage, and requir'd to be repair'd, the Admiral sent Orders to *Peter de Arana* and *Francis de Garai*, to repair to *Xaragua* with another call'd the *Santa Cruz*, or the *Holy Cross*, aboard which *Carvajal* went, and not by Land, as was at first intended, who, arriving there in eleven Days, found the other Caraval waiting for him.

Mean-while the Caravals not coming so soon as was expected, and most of *Roldan's* Men having no real Mind to embark, they took this

Delay for a Pretence to stay, crying out upon the Admiral, as if he had broke his Faith with them, and had not dispatch'd them so soon as he might; whereof being inform'd, he writ to *Roldan* and *Adrian*, perswading them, in the most friendly Manner, not to fall again into Disobedience, but to perform the Agreement. Besides this *Carvajal*, who was with them at *Xaragua*, on the 20th of *April*, enter'd his Protestation before a Notary, nam'd *Francis de Garai*, afterwards Governor of *Panuco*, and of *Jamaica*, requiring them, since the Admiral had sent the Ships, to accept of them, and embark according to Articles: And because they would not, on the 25th of *April*, he order'd the Ships to return to *St. Domingo*, because they were in Danger of being destroy'd by the Worms, and the Men suffer'd very much for Want of Provisions.

At this the Rebels were no way concern'd, but rather rejoyc'd and grew haughty, seeing such Account made of them, and were so far from acknowledging the Admiral's Civility, that they laid it to his Charge in Writing, that it was through his Fault they were detain'd there; crying out, he had a Mind to be reveng'd on them, and therefore had purposely delay'd the sending the Caravals, which, when they came, were in such a wretched Condition, that it was impossible they should go in them to *Spain*; and that though they had been never so good, their Provisions were spent in expecting them, and they could not provide more under a long Time; for which Reasons they had

had determin'd to stay, and expect Redress from their Majesties.

With this Answer *Carvajal* return'd by Land to *St. Domingo*; but not without the Satisfaction of an Assurance from *Roldan*, that he would willingly wait again upon the Admiral, to endeavour after such an Accommodation as might please all Parties, provided he would send him his Safe-conduct.

Of this *Carvajal* sent the Admiral word, from *St. Domingo*, on the 15th of *May*, who return'd an Answer on the 21st, highly commending him for the Pains he took; and withal sent the Safe-conduct he requir'd, accompany'd with a short but very pathetic Letter to *Roldan*, wherein he exhorted him to Peace, Submission, and their Majesties Service; which he afterwards repeated at *St. Domingo* more at large, on the 29th of *June*; and on the 3d of *August*, six or seven principal Men about the Admiral, sent *Roldan* another Safe-conduct, that he might come to treat with his Lordship.

But the Distance between them being pretty great, and the Admiral having Occasion to visit the Country, he resolv'd to go with two Caravals to the Port of *Azua* in the same Island, west of *St. Domingo*, to be the nearer the Place where the Rebels were, many of whom came to the said Port; as soon as they heard the Admiral was arriv'd there, which was about the End of *August*, when he conferr'd with the chief of them, exhorting them to desist from their seditious Courses, and promising them upon that Condition, all possible Favour and Kindness, which, at length, they agreed to,

to, provided the Admiral would grant them the four following Articles,

1. That he should send fifteen of them to *Spain*, on board the first Ships that went.
2. That to those that stay'd behind, he should give Land and Houses for their Pay.
3. That Proclamation should be made, that whatsoever had happen'd had been occasion'd by false Suggestions, and through the Fault, of evil Men.

4. That the Admiral should a-new constitute *Roldan* perpetual Judge.

Matters being thus adjusted with the Rebels, the Admiral appointed a Captain and some Men to march about the Island to pacify it, and reduce the *Indians* to pay the Tribute; and who should be always in Readiness, that upon the least Mutiny among the *Christians*, or Sign of Rebellion among the *Indians*, they might suppress and punish them; which he did with a Design to go himself into *Spain*, and to carry with him his Brother the Lieutenant, thinking it might be more difficult if he were left behind for old Grudges to be forgotten.

But Fortune, his old Enemy, was not yet weary of crossing his Designs; for while he was preparing for this Voyage, *Alonso de Ojeda*, who had been sent with four Ships, upon a Discovery, arriv'd in the Island; and as these Sort of Men have nothing more in View than their own Interest, he thought he had now a fair Opportunity to gratify both his Avarice and Ambition, by opposing the Admiral, and setting a new Head upon the Shoulders of Faction; for which Purpose he endeavour'd to raise another

another Mutiny, giving out, that *Queen Isabel*, or *Elizabeth* was likely to die; and that as soon as she was dead, there would no body be left to support the Admiral; but that he, who had always been a faithful Servant to the Bishop of *Burgos*, should have the whole Power put into his Hands, to act against the Admiral as he pleas'd, by Reason of the bitter Enmity between them.

Not content with this, he likewise began to write to several that were not very sound after the late Troubles, and to hold a Correspondence with them. But *Roldan* being inform'd of his Proceedings, by the Admiral's Order, went against him with 21 Men, to prevent his executing the Mischief he intended: When being come within a League and a half of him, on the 29th of *September*, he understood he was with fifteen Men at a Cacique's, whose Name was *Haniguaaba*, making Bread and Bisket, and therefore he travell'd all that Night to surprize him.

But *Ojeda* having Intelligence that *Roldan* was coming upon him, and being too weak to oppose him, to put the best Face upon the Matter, went out to meet him, excusing himself, that the Want of Provisions had brought him thither, to supply himself in the King his Master's Dominions, and not any seditious Intention. After which he gave him an Account of his Voyage, saying, he had been discovering 600 Leagues westward, along the Coast of *Paria*, where he found People that fought the *Christians* Hand to Hand, and had wounded 20 of his Men, for which Reason he
could

could make no Advantage of the Wealth of the Country, where he said, there was Plenty of Deer, and Rabbits, Tyger's Skins and Paws, and Guaninis, Samples of all which he shew'd to *Roldan* aboard the Caravals; adding that he would repair in a short Time to *St. Domingo*, when he would give the Admiral an Account of all.

Mean-time the Admiral was not without Uneasiness from another Quarter; for *Riquelme*, a Person of a turbulent Disposition, whom *Roldan* had constituted Judge of *Bonao*, under Pretence of building a House for his Herds, had made Choice of a strong Rock, from whence, with a few Men, he might annoy the whole Country; which *Peter de Arana*, thinking contrary to the Admiral's Authority, forbade him; whereupon *Riquelme* drew up a Process against him, attested by Witnesses, and sent it to the Admiral, complaining that *Arana* had us'd Violence towards him, and praying Relief; which very much perplex'd the Admiral; for though he knew the restless Spirit of *Riquelme*, and entirely approv'd of *Arana*'s Behaviour; yet he thought fit to conceal his Jealousy, thinking it enough to provide against *Ojeda*'s open Intrusion, without shewing an unseasonable Resentment at what, for the present at least, might be tollerably conniv'd at.

In the mean while, *Ojeda*, persisting in his rebellious Purposes, and having taken Leave of *Roldan*, in February 1500, went away with his Ships to *Xaragua*, where a great many of those still resided who had before rebell'd with *Roldan*; and because Avarice is the most ready
and

and effectual Way to promote any Mischief, he began to give out among those People, that their *Catholick* Majesties had appointed him and *Carvajal* to be Coadjutors to the Admiral, that they might suffer him to do nothing but what they thought was for the Service of their Majesties; and that among the many Things they had order'd him, one was, That he should immediately pay in ready Money, all those that were in the Island in their Service, which since the Admiral was not just enough to do, he was ready to go along with them to *St. Domingo*, to oblige him to pay them out of Hand; and after that, if they thought proper, to turn him out of the Island dead or alive; alledging that they ought not to rely upon the Agreement made between them, or the Word he had given them; since he would be sure to keep neither any longer than Necessity oblig'd him to it.

With these Pretences he drew a great many over to his Party, who resolv'd to follow his Fortune, by whose Assistance, thinking himself strong enough for some Enterprize, he one Night fell upon those that oppos'd him, when there were several kill'd and wounded on both Sides. And as they were satisfied that *Roldan*, who was return'd to the Admiral's Service, would not join with them, they resolv'd to surprize and make him Prisoner; but he being inform'd of their Design, went well accompanied where *Ojeda* was, intending to seize him, if he possibly could, and put an End to these Disorders.

But *Ojeda*, who knew his own Demerits too well not to be upon his Guard, immediately retir'd to his Ships, and *Roldan* continuing ashore,

they treated about a Conference, each of them fearing to put himself into the Power of the other; when at length, *Roldan*, perceiving that *Ojeda* would by no Means be drawn to Land, offer'd to go treat with him aboard, and for that Purpose sent to ask his Boat, which the other sent him with a strong Guard, who having taken in *Roldan*, with six or seven of his Followers, when they least suspected it, *Roldan* and his People, on a sudden, fell upon *Ojeda's* Men, with their naked Swords, and killing some, and wounding others, made themselves Masters of the Boat, returning with it to Land; upon which *Ojeda*, having only a small Skiff left, was glad to comply with *Roldan's* Request, and to come peaceably on Shore to treat with him. Here, after some Excuses made for his Offences, he agreed to restore some Men he had taken by Force, that his own Boat and Men might be return'd him; alledging, that if their Boat was not restor'd, they must all inevitably perish, both them and their Ships, by Reason they had no other fit to serve them. To this *Roldan* the more readily consented, that they might have no longer any Pretence to complain, or say, they were distress'd through his Means; but not without a previous Promise from *Ojeda*, and Security given, that he would depart the Island by a Time appointed; which he accordingly did, being indeed oblig'd to it by the good Guard which *Roldan* kept ashore.

But Dissentions are like those rank Weeds which it is no easy Task to root out, so that they shall not spring again; for when People have

have once got a Habit of doing ill, they seldom fail relapsing into their Crimes the first Opportunity; and accordingly it happen'd to some of the Rebels within a few Days after *Ojeda's* Departure: For one *Don Ferdinand de Guevara*, being in Disgrace with the Admiral, as a seditious Person; and having taken Part with *Ojeda*, in Hatred to *Roldan*, because he would not permit him to take to Wife the Daughter of *Canua*, the principal Queen of *Xaragua*; began to conspire with several others, whom he had perswaded to join him, how he might secure *Roldan*, and succeed him in the Mischiefs he had declin'd.

In particular, he had gain'd over to his Party one *Adrian de Moxica*, a chief Man among the late Rebels, by whose Advice, about the middle of *July*, he laid a Plot to surprize and murder *Roldan*; but he having Intelligence of their Design, stood upon his Guard, and order'd his Business so well, that he seiz'd the aforesaid *Don Ferdinand*, *Adrian*, and the chief Men of their Party, and sending the Admiral an Account of what had happen'd, desir'd to know his Pleasure, what he should do with them? Who answer'd, that since they had endeavour'd, without any Provocation, to disturb the Country, and if they were not punish'd, every Thing must run to Ruin, he should deal with them according to their Demerits, and as the Law directed. Agreeable to which, after a legal Trial, he hang'd *Adrian* as principal Author of the Conspiracy, banish'd several others, and kept *Don Ferdinand* in Prison, till some Time after, he deliver'd him

with other Prisoners, to *Gonsalo Blanco*, to carry them to *La Vega*, or the Plain, where the Admiral then was.

This Example had so good an Effect, that the whole Country was immediately quiet, and the *Indians* again submitted themselves to pay Tribute to the *Christians*. Such rich Mines of Gold were likewise daily discover'd, that every Man left the King's Pay, and went to live upon his own Account, applying himself to dig Gold at his own Expence, allowing the King the third Part of all he found; which prosper'd so well, that one Man has gather'd 40 Ounces of Gold in a Day; and a Grain of pure Gold has been taken up worth above 196 Ducats.

But this Calm, like most others in Human-Life, was but of a short Continuance; for during the abovemention'd Disorders, many of the Rebels, by Letters sent from *Hispaniola*, and others that were return'd into *Spain*, never ceas'd giving false Informations to the King and his Council, against the Admiral and his Brothers, saying, they were cruel, and unfit for that Government, as well because they were Strangers and Aliens, as because they had not formerly been in a Rank, to learn by Experience, how to govern People of Condition; alledging, that if their Majesties did not apply some speedy Remedy, those Colonies would be utterly destroy'd; or in Case they were not quite ruin'd by their ill Government, the Admiral would certainly revolt, and join in League with some other Prince to support him, under Pretence that all was his own, as having been discover'd by his Industry and Labour; adding, that

the better to compass his Design, he had conceal'd the Wealth of the Country, and would not have the *Indians* serve the *Christians*, nor be converted to the Faith, because by making much of them, he was in Hopes they would espouse his Part against their Majesties faithful Subjects. With which Slanders, and others of the same Kind, they so perpetually besieg'd their Majesties, and their Favourites, that at length it was resolv'd to send a Judge into *Hispaniola*, to inquire into these Matters; with Orders, if he found the Admiral guilty of what was laid to his Charge, to send him into *Spain*, and to stay there himself as Governor.

The Person pitch'd upon for this Purpose, was one *Francis de Bovadilla*, a poor Knight of the Order of *Calatrava*; who on the 21st of May, 1499. had full and ample Commission given him at *Madrid*, with blank Letters subscrib'd by their Majesties, to such Persons as he should think fit in *Hispaniola*, commanding them to be aiding and assisting to him. With these Powers he arriv'd at *St. Domingo* about the latter End of *August*, 1500. at such Time as the Admiral was with his Brother at the *Conception* settling the Affairs of that Province; so that *Bovadilla*, at his Arrival, finding no body to withstand him, immediately took up his Quarters in the Admiral's Palace, seizing and making use of all he found there, as if it had fallen to him by Inheritance; and having gather'd together all the Persons he could find that had been in Rebellion, with many others that hated the Admiral and his Brothers, he declar'd himself Governor; and to gain the Affections of the People

ple, caus'd a general Freedom to be proclaim'd for 20 Years to come; requiring the Admiral to repair to him, without any Delay, upon Business for their Majesties Service. And to back this Summons, on the 7th of *September*, he sent him their Majesties Letter by *F. John de la Sera*, which was to the following Effect.

To *Don Christopher Columbus*, our Admiral of the Ocean.

We have order'd the Commendary Francis de Bovadilla, the Bearer, to acquaint you with our Pleasure: Wherefore we desire you to give him entire Credit, and to obey him. Given at Madrid the 21st of May, 1499.

By their Majesties Command, I the King.
Mich. Perez de Almazan. I the Queen.

As soon as the Admiral received this Letter he immediately came away to *St. Domingo*, where the aforesaid Judge, who was eager to remain Governor, at the Beginning of *October*, 1500. without any legal Information, sent him Prisoner aboard a Ship, together with his Brother *James*, putting them in Irons, with a good Guard over them, and ordering, upon the severest Penalties, that no one should dare to speak for them.

After this inhuman Treatment, that he might keep some Form of Law, he began to draw up a Process against them, admitting the Rebels, their avow'd Enemies, as Witnesses, and publicly favouring all that came to speak ill of them, who in their Depositions gave in such Villanies and Incoherencies, that he must have been

been blind that could not at once perceive their Falsity and Malice. On which Account their *Catholick* Majesties would not afterwards admit of them, but clear'd the Admiral, repenting they had sent so worthless a Person on such an Errand.

Nor was it without Reason they did so, for *Bovadilla*, during his Residence there, almost ruin'd the Island, squandering the King's Revenues to procure himself Friends, and excusing himself by saying, that their Majesties would have nothing but the Honour of the Dominion, and desired the Profit might be their Subjects.

But as to himself, he was far from neglecting his own Share ; always siding with the richest and most powerful Men, to whom he gave *Indians* to serve them, on Condition they should share with him whatever they got by their Means. Besides which, he sold, by Auction, all the Possessions and Effects the Admiral had acquir'd for their Majesties, under the above-mention'd Pretence, *that it was their Desire the Benefit should belong to their Subjects* ; but, at the same Time, took Care they should be bought by some of his Companions for, at least, one third of their Value.

Nor was he at all less venal of his judicial Power, than he was of his Authority as Governor, making no other Use of it than to enrich himself, and gain the Affections of the People, being still afraid lest the Lieutenant, who was not yet come back from *Xaragua*, should put a Stop to his Proceedings, and endeavour,

deavour, by Force of Arms, to set the Admiral at Liberty.

But in this Particular, nothing is more worthy Commendation than the prudent and generous Conduct of the Brothers; for immediately upon his being imprison'd, the Admiral wrote to the Lieutenant, "desiring he would
" forthwith repair to him in a peaceable Manner, that their Majesties Service might meet
" with no Obstruction, nor the Island be put into an Uproar; alledging, that when they came to *Spain*, they should with Ease obtain the Punishment of such a senseless Person, and ample Satisfaction for the Injury done them."

But the Candour of this Behaviour made no Impression upon the brutish *Bovadilla*, who continued to treat them with the utmost Indignity, allowing even the baser Sort to rail at them publicly, blowing Horns about the Port where they were ship'd, and setting up scandalous Libels against them at the Corners of the Streets; which he encourag'd so openly, that though he was inform'd that one *James Ortir*, Governor of the Hospital, had writ a Libel against the Admiral and his Brothers, and had read it publicly in the Market-Place, yet he was so far from punishing of him, that he shew'd himself very well pleas'd, which made every one endeavour to exert himself in the same undecent Manner.

Nor did his Apprehensions of the Admiral seem to have any more Bounds than his contemptuous Usage of him; for when they were about to sail, for fear he should by any Means
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make his Escape, and swim back, he gave a particular Charge to *Andrew Martin*, the Master of the Ship, to look well to him, and to deliver him in Irons, as he was, to the Bishop *Don John de Fonseca*, by whose Advice and Instigation, it was generally thought, all his Actions were guided.

But as soon as they were at Sea, the Master, who was thoroughly sensible of *Bovadilla's* unworthiness, instead of obeying those inhuman Orders, would fain have knock'd off the Admiral's Fetters; but he would never permit it, saying, That since their *Catholick* Majesties, by their Letter, had directed him to perform whatsoever *Bovadilla* should command him in their Name, by virtue of which Commission and Authority he had put him in Irons, he would have none but their Majesties themselves release him from them. Adding, that he was resolv'd to keep those Fetters as choice Relicks, and a lasting Memorial of the Reward of his many Services; which he accordingly did, keeping them always in his Room, as long as he liv'd, and at his Death, ordering them to be buried in the same Grave with him.

Thus like a Felon, to the eternal Reproach of *Spain*, this brave Man was brought to *Cadiz*, in the Month of *November*, 1500, whence he writ to their *Catholick* Majesties to acquaint them with his Arrival; who understanding the Condition he came in, immediately gave Orders for his Enlargement, and at the same Time sent him very gracious Letters, to assure him that they were very sorry for his Sufferings, and the unworthy Behaviour of *Bovadilla* to-

wards him, ordering him to repair forthwith to Court, where immediate Care should be taken of his Affairs, and full Reparation made him for his injur'd Honour.

But notwithstanding all this, it is certain there is nothing can excuse the Court of *Spain* from the Imputation of the highest Ingratitude, in thus exposing a generous Foreigner, who had run through so many Dangers for their Service, to such ignoble Treatment, by sending over a base and ignorant Wretch who knew nothing of the Duty of his Office; for had they chose for that Employment, a Person of a different Character, the Admiral himself would have been glad of his coming; since he by Letter had often desir'd that such a one might be sent, to take true Information of the Perverseness of those People, and of the Crimes they committed, that they might be punish'd by another Hand, he being unwilling to use that Severity, which might better become another Person, by reason the original of those Tumults had been against his Brother; and tho' it may be alledg'd on the other Side, that their *Catholick* Majesties had receiv'd repeated Complaints of the Admiral, yet there is nothing can justify their sending *Bovadilla* with so many Letters, and such an unlimited Commission.

To return to our Narration, the Admiral, being thus set at Liberty, repair'd to *Granada*, where he met with the most favourable Reception from their *Catholick* Majesties, who again assur'd him in the kindest Terms, that his Imprisonment had been neither by their Desire nor Command, and that therefore they were
highly

highly offended at it, and would take Care that those who were in Fault should meet with their due Punishment, and that full Satisfaction should be made him. After these, and the like gracious Words, they order'd his Business should be immediately taken into Consideration, the Result of which was, that a Governor should be sent to *Hispaniola*, to right the Admiral and his Brothers; that *Bovadilla* should be oblig'd to restore all he had taken from them; that the Admiral should be allow'd all that belong'd to him, according to the Articles their Majesties had granted him; and that the Rebels should be proceeded against, and punish'd according to their Demerits. The Person fix'd upon for this Employment was *Nicholas de Obando*, Commandary of Laws, who receiv'd the necessary full Powers accordingly.

Mean-time while *Obando* went to *Hispaniola*, their Majesties resolv'd to send the Admiral upon some Voyage that might turn to his Advantage, and keep him employ'd till the said *Obando* could settle the Affairs of that Island; thinking it the best Excuse they could make for keeping him so long out of his Right, without any just Occasion; the Information sent by *Bovadilla* plainly appearing to be full of Malice, and not containing any Thing material against him. But there being some Delay in the Execution of this Design, because of the Season of the Year, it being now the Month of *October*, and ill Men endeavouring to prevail that a new Information might be expected, the Admiral resolv'd to wait again upon their Majesties, and as he was going upon their Service, to beg their Pro-

tection against any Attempts his Enemies might make during his Absence, which they graciously promis'd him, and repeated the same by Letter, when he was ready to set out upon his Voyage; the Words of it were to this Effect.

“ And be assur'd that your Imprisonment
 “ was extremely displeasing to us, which your
 “ self was sensible of, and all Men plainly saw,
 “ because as soon as we were inform'd of it,
 “ we applied the proper Remedies. And you
 “ know with how much Honour and Respect
 “ we have always commanded you to be treated,
 “ which we now direct should be done, and
 “ that you receive all worthy and noble Usage.
 “ Promising you, upon our Royal Words, that
 “ the Privileges and Prerogatives by us granted
 “ to you shall be fully preserv'd, according to
 “ the Tenor of our Letters Patent, which you
 “ and your Children shall enjoy without Mo-
 “ lestation, as is due in Reason: And if it be
 “ necessary to ratify them a-new, we will rea-
 “ dily do it, and will order that your Son be
 “ put into Possession of all; for we desire to
 “ Honour and Favour you in greater Matters
 “ than these. And be satisfied we will take all
 “ proper Care of your Sons and Brothers,
 “ which shall be done after your Departure;
 “ for the Employment shall be given to your
 “ Son, as hath been said. We therefore wish
 “ you not to delay your Departure.”

*Given at Valentia de la Torre, on the 14th
 of March, 1502.*

Their Majesties express'd themselves in this Manner, because some Time before the Admi-
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ral had form'd a Resolution not to trouble himself any more with the Affairs of the *Indies*, but to throw that Burthen upon his Son; saying, "That if the Services he had already done were not sufficient to deserve the Punishment of those People by whom he had been so villainously abus'd, all he could do for the future would never obtain it, since he had already perform'd the chief Thing he had undertaken before he discover'd the *Indies*, viz. to show that there was a Continent and Islands westward, that the Way to them was easy and navigable, the Advantage visible, and the Inhabitants gentle and unarm'd. All which, since he had verified himself in Person, there now remain'd nothing but for their Majesties to persue what was begun, by sending People to discover the Secrets of those Countries; the Gate being now open for any one to follow."

But as this Resolve was chiefly owing to a just Resentment of the injurious Treatment he had sustain'd, their Majesties kind Promises, and his own Inclination to serve them, particularly the Queen, easily prevail'd with him to lay it aside, and to undertake the Voyage propos'd. For this Purpose he set out from *Granada* for *Seville*, in the Year 1501. where he so earnestly sollicitated the fitting out a Squadron, that in a short Time, he had rigged and provided four Ships, the largest of 70, the least of 50 Tuns Burthen, together with 140 Men and Boys, of which Number his Son * *Ferdinand* was one.

* From whose Memoirs of the Life and Actions of his Father, wrote originally in *Spanish*, our Account of this Voyage is chiefly taken.

On

On the 9th of *May*, 1502. he set sail from *Cadiz*, and came to *St. Catharine's*, whence he departed on *Wednesday* the 11th of the same Month, and went to *Arzilla*, with an Intention to relieve the *Portuguese*, who he heard were in great Distress, being closely besieged by the Moors; but before he came thither the Siege was rais'd. Whereupon he sent his Brother *Don Bartholomew Columbus*, and his Son, with the Captains of the Ships ashore, to pay his Compliments to the Governor, who had been wounded in the Assault; in Return of which Civility, and to thank him for his generous Intention, the Governor deputed several of his Gentlemen to wait upon the Admiral, among whom he had the Pleasure of seeing some of the Relations of *Donna Philippa Moniz* his deceased Wife.

The same Day he set sail from thence, and arriving at *Gran Canaria*, on the 20th of *May*, cast Anchor among the little Islands; and on the 24th, went ashore there to take in Wood and Water for the Voyage.

The next Night, he again set forward for the *Indies*, when it pleas'd God the Wind was so fair, that without handing a Sail, on *Wednesday* the 15th of *June*, he arriv'd at the Island *Martinico*, with a rough Sea and Wind; where, according to the Custom of those that sail from *Spain* to the *Indies*, he again took in fresh Wood and Water, and made the Men wash their Linnen, staying there till *Saturday*, when he stood to the Westward, and came to *Dominica*, 10 Leagues from the other.

In this Manner, running along among the *Carribbee Islands*, he came to *Santa Cruz*; and on the 24th of the same Month, ran along the South-side of the Island of *St. John*.

From hence he took the Way for *St. Domingo*, being under a Necessity to exchange one of his Ships for another, by Reason it was a very bad Sailor, and besides could carry no Sail, but the Side would lie almost under Water; which was a very great Hinderance to his Voyage; for his first Design was to have gone directly to the Coast of *Paria*, and to have kept along that Shore, till he came upon the Streight, which he concluded must be about *Veragua* and *Nombre de Dios*. But by this Failure of his Ship, he was oblig'd to repair to *St. Domingo* to change it for a better.

Being come near the Port, to the End the Commendary, sent by their Majesties to call *Bovadilla* to an Account for his Male-Administration, might not be surpriz'd at his unexpected Arrival, upon *Wednesday* the 29th of *June* he dispatch'd to him *Peter de Terreros*, Captain of one of the Ships, to acquaint him with the Occasion he had to exchange his Ship; for which Reason, as also because he foresaw a great Storm coming, he desir'd to secure himself in that Port; advising him withal not to let the Fleet, bound for *Spain*, sail out of the Port for eight Days to come; assuring him that if he did, it would be in eminent Danger of being cast away.

But to his great Astonishment, the aforesaid Governor would neither permit the Admiral to come into the Harbour, nor hinder the going
out

out of the Fleet, which consisted of 18 Sail, and was to carry *Bovadilla*, who had imprison'd the Admiral and his Brothers, together with *Francis Roldan*, and all the rest of the Chiefs who had been concern'd in Rebellion against them, and wrought them so much Mischief, all whom it pleas'd God to infatuate in this Manner, that they might not admit of the Admiral's good Advice; for had they arriv'd in *Spain*, it is certain, they had never been punish'd as their Crimes deserv'd, but would rather have been favour'd and prefer'd, as being the Bishop's Friends.

But all this was prevented by their own Willfulness in setting out so unseasonably; for no sooner were they come to the East Point of the Island *Hispaniola*, but there arose so terrible a Tempest, that the Admiral of the Fleet sunk, in which was *Bovadilla*, with most of the Rebels, and the Storm made such Havock amongst the rest, that of 18 Ships only three or four were sav'd.

This happen'd upon *Thursday* the last of *June*, when the Admiral, having foreseen the Storm, and being denied Admittance into the Port, for his Security, drew up as close to the Land as he could, sheltering himself in this Manner not without much Dissatisfaction among his Men, who for being with him, were denied that Reception which had always been allow'd to Strangers, and much more to them that were of the same Nation, fearing they should be serv'd neither better nor worse, if any Misfortune should befall them for the future. Nor was the Admiral a little concern'd on the same

Account;

Account; yet it touch'd him much nearer, to think he should be us'd with so much Baseness and Ingratitude in a Country which he had given to the Honour and Benefit of *Spain*, as to be refus'd the common Privilege of sheltering his Life in it.

Nevertheless his Prudence and Judgment secur'd all the Ships, till the next Day the Tempest increasing, and the Night coming on very dark, three of them broke from him every one its own Way; the Men aboard each of them, though all were in great Danger, concluding the others were lost; but they that suffer'd most were those aboard the Ship call'd the *Santo*, who to save their Boat, which had been ashore with Captain *Terreros*, dragg'd it astern, where it overset, and they were at last forc'd to let it go to save themselves.

But the Caraval *Bermuda* was still in greater Danger, for running out to Sea, she was almost cover'd with it, by which it plainly appear'd what Reason the Admiral had to endeavour to change her; and every one own'd that, under God, the Admiral's Brother was the saving of her, by his Wisdom and Resolution; nor indeed at that Time was there a more expert Sailor.

Thus having all suffer'd very much, except the Admiral, it pleas'd God they met together again upon the *Sunday* following, in the Port of *Azua*, on the South-side of *Hispaniola*, where every one giving an Account of their Misfortunes, it appear'd that *Bartholomew Columbus* had weather'd the Storm by flying from Land like an able Sailor; and the Admiral

by lying close to it like a cunning Philosopher, who knew whence the Danger must come.

And hence it was that his Enemies took an Opportunity to scandalize him, saying, that he had rais'd this Storm by Magic Art, to be reveng'd on *Bovadilla*, and the rest of his Adversaries that were with him, seeing none of his own four Ships had perish'd; whereas of the 18 which set out with *Bovadilla*, only one call'd *La Aguja*, or the *Needle*, the very worst of them all, held on its Course for *Spain*, where it arriv'd in safety, having on board 4000 Pesos in Gold, worth eight Shillings a Peso, belonging to the Admiral, the other three, that escap'd, returning to *St. Domingo* shatter'd, and in a distress'd Condition.

In this Port the Admiral gave his Men a little Breathing after their Fatigue; and it being one of the ordinary Diversions us'd at Sea, to fish, when they have nothing else to do, it may not be amiss to mention two Sorts of Fish which they took there, one of which afforded them Pleasure, and the other Wonder.

The first of these was a Fish call'd the *Saavina*, of a pretty large Size, which lying asleep above Water was struck with an Harping-Iron, from the Boat of the Ship *Biscaina*, and held so fast that it could not break loose; after which being tied with a long Rope to the Boat, it drew the Boat after it as swift as an Arrow, to the great Amazement of all in the Ship, who were not us'd to such Sight, till at last the Fish sunk, and being drawn to the Ship's Side, was there hall'd up with the Tackle.

The other Fish was what the *Indians* call the *Manati*, which is as big as a Calf, and little differing from it in the Colour and Taste of the Flesh. But at present it is long since either of them have been look'd upon as any thing extraordinary.

Having thus refresh'd his Men, and repair'd his Ships, the Admiral left the Port of *Azua*, and went to that of *Brasil*, which the *Indians* call *Giaccbemo*, to avoid another Storm that he saw was coming.

From hence he sail'd on the 14th of *July*, when he was so becalm'd, that instead of holding on his Course, the Current carried him away to certain Islands near *Jamaica*, which are very small and sandy, and were call'd by him, *Los Poros*, or the *Wells*, because not finding Water in them, they dug several Pits in the Sand whence they got Water for their use.

From hence, sailing southward for the Continent, they came to certain Islands the largest of which he call'd *Guanaia*, and sent his Brother *Bartholomew Columbus* ashore with two Boats, where they found People like those of the other Islands, but not with such high Foreheads. They also saw abundance of Pine-Trees, and a great deal of *Lapis Calaminaris*, us'd to mix with Copper, which some Seamen mistaking for Gold, kept conceal'd a long Time.

The Admiral's Brother, when ashore, being very desirous to know something more of the Island, Fortune so order'd it, that a large Canoe, as long as a Galley, and eight Foot wide, all of one Tree, and like the others in shape,

put in there, being loaded with Commodities brought from the westward, and bound towards *New Spain*. In the midst of it was a Covering like an Awning, made of Palm-Tree Leaves, not unlike those of the *Venetian* Gondolas, which kept all under it so close, that neither the Rain, nor Sea-Water could wet the Goods that were under it, or the Women and Children. There were 25 Men aboard her, yet they had not the Courage to make the least Defence against the Boats that persu'd them.

The Canoe being thus taken without Opposition, was immediately carried aboard, where the Admiral blessed God, who had thus vouchsaf'd, at once, to give him Samples of the Commodities of the Country, without exposing his Men to any Hazard. He therefore order'd such Things to be taken as he judg'd most lightly and valuable; such as some Quilts and Shirts of Cotton, without Sleeves, curiously wrought and dy'd of several Colours; some small Clouts, us'd to cover their Nakedness, of the same Stuff; several large Sheets in which the *Indian* Women aboard the Canoe wrapp'd themselves, after the Fashion of the Moorish Women at *Granada*; some long wooden Swords with a Channel on each Side, wherein there were sharp Flints fix'd with Thread and a bituminous Sort of Matter, which would cut the naked Flesh as if they were of Steel; with several Hatchets to cut wood, not of Flint, like those us'd by the other *Indians*, but of good Copper; also Bells of the same Metal; with Plates, and Crucibles to melt the Metal.

As to their Provision, they had such Roots and Grain as they in *Hispaniola* eat, and a Sort of Liquor made of *Maiz*, like *English* Beer; with abundance of Cacao Nuts, which in *New-Spain* pass for Money, and which they seem'd to value very much; for when they were brought aboard among their other Goods, if one of them chanc'd to fall, they all stoop'd to take it up, as if it had been a Thing of the utmost Consequence; though at the same Time they seem'd to be in a manner besides themselves, being brought Prisoners aboard the Ship, among such strange and fierce People, as the *Spaniards* appear'd to them.

However, though this may be some Proof that Avarice is a Stranger no where; yet their Modesty was much more to be admir'd; for it happening in getting them on board, that some of them were taken by the Clouts with which they hid their Nakedness, they would immediately clap their Hands for a Covering; and the Women would hide their Faces with the greatest Industry, and wrap themselves up, as we have already observ'd, after the Manner of the Moorish Women at *Granada*; which so mov'd the Admiral, that he order'd them to be well us'd, and their Canoe to be restor'd, giving them besides several Things in Exchange for those he had taken from them.

Neither did he detain any one of them, except an old Man, whose Name was *Giumbe*, and who seem'd to be the wisest and chief of them, to learn something concerning the Country, and that he might, by his Means, draw others to converse with the Christians,
all

all which the *Indian* very readily and faithfully perform'd, as far as his Language was understood; after which, as a Reward for his Service, the Admiral gave him several Presents, and sent him home very well pleas'd, a little before he came to *Cape Gracias a Dios*, on the Coast of *Orecchia*.

Notwithstanding the Admiral had heard a vast deal, from those in the Canoe, concerning the great Wealth, Politeness, and Ingenuity of the People of *New-Spain*; yet thinking, as those Countries lay to the Leeward, he could sail thither when he thought fit from *Cuba*, he would not attempt that Way at this Time, but held on his Design of discovering the Streight towards the Continent, so to clear a Way into the *South-Sea*, which was what he chiefly aim'd at, in order to come at the Spice Countries.

Therefore, without farther Delay, he sail'd to a Point which he call'd *Casinas*, because he found there abundance of Trees that bear a Sort of Fruit, that is rough, like a spungy Bone, and good to eat, especially when boil'd; which Fruit the *Indians* of *Hispaniola* call *Casinas*.

But finding nothing worth Notice in those Parts, he would not lose Time to go into a great Bay the Land makes there, but held on his Course Eastwards along that Coast, which runs on the same Way as far as *Cape Gracias a Dios*, and is very low and open.

The People nearest to *Cape Casinas* wear those painted Shirts or Jerkins before-mention'd, and Clouts to hide their Nakedness, which are made so strong of Cotton, that like Coats
of

of Mail, they are sufficient to defend them against any of their own Weapons, and would even bear off some Strokes from those of the *Spaniards*.

But the People more Eastward, towards *Cape Gracias a Dios*, are almost black, of a fierce Aspect, go stark naked, are extremely savage, and as the old *Indian* affirm'd, eat Man's Flesh and raw Fish just as it is taken. They have likewise their Ears bor'd with such large Holes, that a Hen's Egg may be put into them, which made the Admiral call this Coast *de las Orejas*, or of *Ears*.

Here, on *Sunday* the 14th of *August*, 1502. the Admiral's Brother, *Bartholomew Columbus* went ashore in the Morning, with the Captains, Colours flying, and many of the Men, to hear Mass; and on the *Wednesday* following, the Boats were again sent ashore, to take Possession of the Country for their *Catholick* Majesties; when above 100 of the Natives ran down to the Shore loaded with Provisions; who as soon as the Boats came to Land, went up to the Lieutenant, but on a sudden retir'd back without speaking a Word. Hereupon he order'd them to be allur'd with some Presents of Horse-Bells, Beads, and other Things; and by means of the aforesaid old *Indian*, endeavour'd to enquire concerning the Country; but he, having been but a short Time with the *Spaniards*, neither understood them, by Reason of the Distance of his Country from *Hispaniola*, where several aboard the Ships had learn'd the *Indian* Language; neither did he understand these *Indians*; but they being mightily pleas'd, with
what

what had been given them, came the next Day to the same Place, in Number above 200, loaded with several Sorts of Provisions, as Hens of that Country, which are better than those of *Europe*, Geese, roasted Fish, red and white Beans, like Kidney-Beans, and other kind of Things, like what they have in *Hispaniola*.

The Country was green and beautiful, though low, and abounded in Pines, Oaks, Palm-Trees of several Sorts, Mirabolans, the same with those call'd Hobi in *Hispaniola*; and almost all Sorts of Provisions were to be found here as in that Island. There were also abundance of Leopards, Deer, &c. as likewise all Kinds of Fish that are in the Islands and in *Spain*.

The People are much like those of the Islands, only their Foreheads are not so high, nor could it be perceiv'd that they had any Religion. They are of several Languages, and for the most Part go naked, but cover their Privities, and some of them wear short Jumps down to their Navel without Sleeves. On their Arms and Bodies they have Figures wrought on with Fire, as Lions, Deer, Castles with Towers, &c. which makes them look very frightful. Instead of Caps, the better Sort wear red and white Cloths of Cotton; and some have Locks of Hair hanging on their Foreheads. But when they are to be fine against any great Festival, they colour their Faces some black, and some red; others draw Streaks of several Colours; some paint their Noses; and others black their Eyes; adorning themselves, in this Manner, to appear beautiful, whereas, in Truth, they look like so many Devils.

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Spanish Gratitude.
Cortes orders Motezuma to be Fettered

The Admiral sailing along the said Coast *de las Orejas* eastward, came to *Cape Gracias a Dios*, or *Thanks to God*, which was so call'd, because tho' there were but 60 Leagues to it from *Cape Casinas*, yet the *Spaniards* labour'd 70 Days, by Reason of the Currents and contrary Winds upon the Tack to gain it, standing out to Sea, and then making the Shore, sometimes gaining, and sometimes losing Ground, as the Wind happen'd to favour them when they came about, and had not the Coast afforded such good anchoring they had been much longer upon it; but that being clear, and having two Fathom Water half a League from the Shore, and two more at every League's Distance, they had always the Conveniency of anchoring at Night when there was but little Wind, so that the Course was navigable by Reason of the good anchoring, but with Difficulty.

On the 14th of *September*, when they came to the Cape, perceiving the Land turn'd off to the South, and that they could conveniently continue their Voyage, with those very Winds that had been so contrary to them, they all in general, gave Thanks to God, for which Reason the Admiral call'd it *Cape Gracias a Dios*. A little beyond they pass'd by some very dangerous Sands that ran out into the Sea, as far as the Eye could reach.

On the 16th of *September*, having Occasion for Wood and Water, the Admiral sent the Boats to a River that seem'd to be deep, and to have a good Enterance, but the coming out prov'd otherwise; for the Winds freshing from Sea, and the Waves running high against the

Current of the River, so distress'd the Boats, that one of them was lost with all the Men; from which Accident the Admiral call'd it the River *de la Desgratia*, or the *Disasterous River*. In this River and about it, are Canes as thick as a Man's Leg.

On *Sunday* the 25th of *September*, still running southward, they came to an Anchor near a little Island call'd *Quiriviri*, and a Town on the Continent, the Name whereof was *Cariari*, where they found the best People, and the finest Country they had yet seen, as well because it was high, full of Rivers, and abounding in Trees, as because the Island was thick wooded, and full of Forests of Palm, Mirobalan, and other Sorts of Trees; for which Reason the Admiral call'd it *Hucite*.

This Island is a small League from the Town the *Indians* call *Cariari*, which is seated near a great River, whether resorted a vast Multitude of People from the adjacent Parts, some with Bows and Arrows, others with Staves of Palm-Trees, as black as a Coal, and hard as a Horn, pointed with the Bones of Fishes; and others with Clubs; who came together as if they meant to defend their Country.

The Men had their Hair braided, and wound about their Heads; but the Women wore their's short. Perceiving the *Spaniards* to be peaceable People, they were desirous to barter their Commodities, which were Arms, Cotton-Jerkins, large Pieces like Sheets, and *Guaninis*, which are Pieces of pale Gold, that they wear about their Necks, as the *Roman Catholics* do their Relicks.

With

With these, and such like Things, they swam to the Boats; for the *Spaniards* went not ashore that Day, nor the next; nor would the Admiral suffer any thing to be taken from the *Indians*, that they might not look upon the *Christians* as Men that any way coveted their Gold, or other Commodities; but on the contrary, commanded they should present them with some of their own.

Nor was this Management without its Advantage; for the less they saw the *Spaniards* value the Exchange, the more eager they were, making abundance of Signs from Land; when, at length, perceiving nobody went ashore, they took all the Things that had been given them, without reserving any, and tying them together, left them on the Shore, where the *Spaniards* found them, on the *Wednesday* following, at their landing.

Upon this, the *Indians*, believing that the *Christians* durst not confide in them, sent an ancient Man, of an awful Presence, with a Flag upon a Staff, and two Girls, one about 8, the other about 14 Years of Age, who, placing them upon the Shore, made Signs that the *Christians* might safely land, who, at their Request, accordingly went ashore to take in Water, the *Indians* taking the utmost Care not to do any Thing that might alarm the *Christians*; and when they saw them about to return to their Ships, they made Signs to them to take the two young Girls along with them, with their *Guaninis* about their Necks; which, at the Intreaty of the old Man that conducted them, they comply'd with, and carried them

P p 2

aboard;

aboard; wherein these *Indians* shew'd more Civility and Friendship than any others; and the Girls behav'd with a surprizing undauntedness; for though the *Christians* were such Strangers to them, yet they express'd no manner of Concern, but always look'd pleasant and modest, which engag'd the Admiral to treat them with great Tenderness; and accordingly, after he had cloathed and fed them, he sent them ashore again, where they met with the same *Indians*; and the old Man, that had deliver'd them, receiv'd them back with a vast deal of Satisfaction. The Boats returning the same Day, found the same People again with the Girls, who restor'd to the *Christians* all they had given them.

The next Day the Admiral's Brother going ashore, to learn something of the Inhabitants, two of the chief Men came to the Boat, and taking him by the Arms, between them, made him sit down upon the Grass; when he asking some Questions of them, order'd his Secretary to write down what they answer'd; but as soon as they saw the Pen, Ink, and Paper, they were in such a Consternation, that most of them ran away, which they did for fear of being bewitch'd. Nor were the *Spaniards* at all behind hand with them in their Censures, taking them, on the other Hand, for no less than Sorcerers; because, when they came near the *Christians*, they scatter'd some Powder about them in the Air, and burning some of the same Powder, endeavour'd to make the Smoke go towards the *Christians*. Besides, their refusing to keep any Thing that belong'd to them shew'd
such

such a kind of a Jealousy, as is too justly express'd in the Proverb, *a Knave thinks every Man like himself.*

Having stay'd here longer than was convenient, considering the Haste he was in; after repairing the Ships, and providing all he wanted, upon *Sunday* the 2d of *October*, the Admiral order'd his Brother to go ashore with some Men to view the *Indian* Town, and to endeavour to learn something of their Manners, and the Nature of the Country.

The most remarkable Things they saw were several Tombs, in a great wooden Palace cover'd with Canes; in one of these was a dead Body dry'd up and embalm'd; in another two Bodies, wrapp'd up in Cotton-Sheets, without any ill Scent; and over each Tomb was a Board, with the Figures of Beasts carv'd on it; and on some of them, the Effigies of the Person buried there, adorn'd with *Guaninis*, Beads, and other Toys they most valued.

But these Discoveries not answering the End propos'd, and as these were the most civiliz'd *Indians* in all those Parts, the Admiral order'd one of them to be taken, to learn of him the Secrets of the Country; and seven being seiz'd, two of the chiefest were pick'd out, and the rest sent away with some Gifts, and civil Entertainment, that the Country might not be left in an Uproar, with Assurances, that they were only to serve as Guides upon the Coast, and then to be set at Liberty.

But the *Indians*, believing they were taken out of Covetousness, that they might ransom themselves with their Goods and Effects of
Value,

Value, the next Day, abundance of them came down to the Shore, and sent four aboard the Admiral, as their Ambassadors, to treat about the Ransom, offering several valuable Things, and freely giving two Hogs of the Country, which, though small, are very wild.

The Admiral, observing the Policy of this People, was the more desirous to be acquainted with them, and would not depart till he had learn'd something of them, but would not give ear to their Offers. However, he order'd some Trifles to be given to the Messengers, that they might not go away dissatisfied, and that they should be paid for their Hogs, one of which was hunted after the following Manner.

Among the several Creatures that Country produces, they have a Sort of Cats of a greyish Colour, as big as a small Greyhound, but with a longer Tail, which is so strong, that whatever it laps about, is, as it were tied with a Rope. These run about the Trees like Squirrels, leaping from one to another; and when they leap, they not only hold fast with their Claws, but with their Tail too, by which they often hang, either to rest themselves, or to sport.

Now it happen'd that a Sailor, nam'd *Ballester*, brought one of these Cats out of a Wood, having knock'd her off a Tree, and not daring to meddle with her when down, because of her Fierceness, he cut off one of her fore Legs, and carried her, so wounded, aboard, where she frighted a good Dog they had; but put one of the Hogs, the *Indians* had brought, into a much greater Terror; for as soon as the Swine saw

saw the Cat he turn'd Tail, with Signs of the utmost Dread, which the Men were all surpriz'd at; because, before this happen'd, the Hog ran at every body, and would not let the Dog rest upon the Deck. The Admiral therefore order'd him to be put close to the Cat, which immediately wound her Tail about his Snout, and with that Fore-leg she had left fasten'd on his Pole to bite him; the Hog, for Fear, grunting most vehemently. By all which it appear'd, that these Cats hunt like the Wolves or Dogs in *Spain*.

On *Wednesday* the 5th of *October*, the Admiral set sail, and came to the Bay of *Caravaro*, which is 6 Leagues in length, and above three in Breadth, where there are many small Islands, and two or three Channels to get in or out, at any Time. Within these Islands the Ships sail'd, as it were, in Straits between Islands, the Leaves of the Trees striking against the Shrouds.

The Admiral, as soon as he anchor'd in this Bay, sent the Boats to one of the Islands, where there were 20 Canoes along the Shore, and the People as naked as they were born, except a Gold Plate which they wore about their Neck, and some had an Eagle of Gold.

But if they were less civiliz'd than the former Nation, they were likewise less scrupulous, freely conversing with the *Spaniards*, by means of the two *Indians* of *Cariari*; and giving them, in Exchange for three Horse-Bells, a Gold Plate that weigh'd ten Ducats, telling them at the same Time, that there was great Plenty of that Metal up the Continent, not far from them.

The next Day, being the 7th of *October*, the Boats went ashore upon the Continent, where meeting ten Canoes full of People, and they refusing to barter away their Gold Plates, two of the principal of them were taken by the Admiral's Order, that he might learn something of them by the Assistance of his two Interpreters. The Gold Plate that one of them wore weigh'd 14 Ducats, and the other's Eagle 22.

These confirm'd to him, that a Day or two's Journey up the Country, there was abundance of Gold found in some Places which they nam'd. In the Bay a great deal of Fish was taken; and on shore there was a vast Number of the above-mention'd Creatures found at *Cariari*; likewise great Plenty of the same Food, such as Roots, Grain, and Fruit. The Men, who paint themselves all over, both Face and Body, of several Colours, as red, black, and white, go naked, only covering their Privities with a narrow cotton Cloth.

From this Bay of *Caravaro*, he went to another close by it, call'd *Aburena*, which in some measure resembles the other.

On the 17th, he put to Sea again to continue his Voyage; and being come to *Guaiga*, a River 12 Leagues from *Aburena*, commanded the Boats to go ashore, which, as they were endeavouring to do, they saw above 100 *Indians* on the Strand, who assaulted them with great Fury, running up to the Middle into the Water, brandishing their Spears, blowing Horns, and beating a Drum in warlike Manner, to defend their Country, throwing the Salt Water towards the *Christians*, and chewing Herbs and
spurting

spurting the Juice towards them. All this Time the *Spaniards* never offer'd to stir, but us'd their utmost Endeavours to appease them, which with some Difficulty they effected; for at length the Hubbub ceas'd, and the *Indians* drew near to exchange the Gold Plates they had about their Necks, some for two, and some for three Horse-Bells, by which means their new Guests got sixteen Gold Plates, worth about 150 Ducats.

The next Day, being *Friday* the 19th of *October*, the Boats went ashore again to barter, however, before any of the *Christians* thought proper to land, they call'd to some of the *Indians*, who were under some Bowers, which they had erected that Night to defend their Country, apprehending that the *Christians* would land on the sudden to do them some Mischief; but though they call'd ever so long, yet none of them would answer, nor would the *Christians* venture to land without knowing first what Mind they were in; nor had they any Reason to repent their Caution; for, as it afterwards appear'd, they lay in wait on purpose to fall on them as soon as they landed; but perceiving they would not come out of the Boats, they blew their Horns, beat their Drum again, and making a great Noise, ran into the Water, as they had done the Day before, till they came almost to the Boats, making Signs, as if they would cast their Javelins, if they did not immediately return to their Ships.

Upon this, the *Christians*, offended at their Proceeding, that they might humble their Presumption a little, or at least not suffer them-

selves

selves to be despis'd by them, wounded one with an Arrow in the Arm, and fir'd off a Cannon, at which they were so thoroughly frighted, that they all ran away to Land; but four *Christians* landing soon after, and calling them back, they came very peaceably, leaving their Arms behind them, and exchang'd three Gold Plates, excusing themselves that they had no more, because they came provided, not to trade, but to fight.

As all the Admiral look'd for in this Voyage, was to get Samples of what those Parts afforded, he would make no longer Stay there, but proceeded to *Catipa*, and cast Anchor in the Mouth of a great River; when immediately the People of the Country were seen to gather together, calling one another with Horns and Drums; and afterwards sent a Canoe with two Men in it, to the Ships, who having talk'd with the *Indians* that were taken at *Cariari*, presently came on board the Admiral, without any Apprehension or Fear; and by the Advice of those *Indians*, gave the Admiral two Plates of Gold they had about their Necks, who, in return, gave them some *European* Baubles.

Soon after these were gone ashore, there came another Canoe with three Men, wearing Plates hanging at their Necks, who presented them to the Admiral as the rest had done.

Amity being thus settled, the *Spaniards* ventur'd ashore, where they found abundance of People with their King, who differ'd in nothing from the rest, only he was cover'd with one Leaf of a Tree, because at that Time it
rain'd

rain'd hard; and to set his Subjects a good Example, he exchang'd a Plate, and bid them barter for theirs, which in all were nineteen, of pure Gold.

It is remarkable, that this was the first Place in the *Indies* where they saw any Sign of a regular Structure or Edifice, which was a great Mass of Wall or Imagery, that to them seem'd to be of Lime and Stone. The Admiral order'd a Piece of it to be brought away, as a Memorial of that Antiquity.

Hence he went eastward, and came to *Cobravo*, the People of which Country inhabit near the Rivers of that Coast, and because none came down to the Strand, and the Wind blew fresh, he held on his Course, and went on to five Towns of great Trade, among which was *Varagua*, where the *Indians* affirm'd the Gold was gather'd, and the Plates made.

The next Day he came to a Town call'd *Cubija*, where the *Indians* of *Cariari* told him the trading Country ended, which began at *Carabora*, and ran as far as *Cubiga*, about 50 Leagues along the Coast.

The Admiral would make no stay here, but went on till he came to *Porto Bello*, to which he gave that Name, because of its being a large, beautiful, populous Town, and encompass'd with a well-cultivated Country.

He enter'd this Place on the 2d of *November*, passing between two small Islands, within which the Ships may lie safe, either close to the Shore, or at a Distance from it, as they have occasion.

The Country about the Harbour, higher up, is excellently till'd, and full of Houses, a Stone's

Throw, or a Bow-Shot, one from the other, insomuch, that it exhibits one of the finest Landskips a Man can imagine.

During seven Days, that the Ships continued there, on Account of the Rain and bad Weather, there continually came Canoes from all the Country round about, to trade for Provisions, and Bottoms of fine-spun Cotton, which they exchang'd for some Trifles, such as Points, Pins, &c.

On *Wednesday* the 9th of *November*, the Admiral sail'd out of *Porto Bello*, eight Leagues to the eastward; but the next Day was forc'd back four Leagues by stress of Weather, when he put in among the Islands, near the Continent, where now stands the Town of *Nombre de Dios*; and because all those small Islands were full of Grain, he call'd it *Puerto de Bastimentos*, or the *Port of Provisions*.

Here a Boat, well-mann'd, pursuing a Canoe, the *Indians*, supposing the *Spaniards* intended them some Harm, and perceiving the Boat was within less than a Stone's Throw off them, they all threw themselves into the Water to swim away, as indeed they did with an incredible Swiftnefs; for though the Boat row'd very hard, yet it could not in half a League, that the Pursuit lasted, overtake any of them; or if it chanc'd to draw near one, he would dive like a Duck, and come up again a Bow-Shot or two from the Place. Nor was this Chase unpleasant, seeing the Boat labour in vain, and at last return empty.

Herethey continued till the 23d of *November*, refitting the Ships, and mending their
Casks,

Casks, and the same Day sail'd eastward to a Place, call'd *Guiga*, of which Name there is another between *Veragua* and *Cerago*.

Here the Boats going ashore, found above 300 Persons ready to trade for such Provisions as they had, and some small Baubles of Gold, which they wore hanging at their Ears and Noses.

Sailing from hence, on the 24th of *November*, they put into a small Port, which they call'd *Retrete*, or the *Retreat*, because it could not contain above five or six Ships together, the Mouth of it not being above fifteen or twenty Paces over. On both Sides of it Rocks appear'd above Water as sharp as Diamonds, and the Channel between them was so deep, that they found no Bottom, though if the Ships inclin'd ever so little, to either Side, the Men might leap ashore.

In this Place they continued nine Days, with very bad Weather. At first the *Indians* came very familiarly to trade for such Things as they had, but when they saw the *Christians* steal privately out of their Ships, they retir'd to their Houses for fear of the Sailors, who like covetous, dissolute Wretches, committed a thousand Insolencies, insomuch that they soon provok'd the *Indians* to break the Peace, and some Skirmishes ensu'd betwixt them.

As the *Indians* encreas'd daily, they at length took Courage to come up to the Ships, which, as we before observ'd, lay with their Sides close to the Shore, thinking to effect some Mischief, which Design of their's had turned very little to their liking, had not the Admiral always endeavour'd

deavour'd to gain them, rather by Patience and Civility, than Blows and Compulsion. But at last, perceiving their Insolence get ground, to strike a Terror in them, he order'd some Pieces of Cannon to be fir'd off, which they answer'd with Shouts, thrashing the Trees with Staves, and threatening, by Signs, to show they were not afraid of the Noise, and that they only thought it a Thundering to terrify them. Wherefore to abate their Pride, and chastise them for contemning the *Christians*, the Admiral caus'd a Shot to be made at a Company of them that were got together upon a Hillock, and the Ball falling in the midst of them, made them sensible there was a Thunderbolt as well as Thunder; so that, for the future, they durst not appear even behind the Mountains. The People of this Country were the properest of any they had seen among the *Indians*, being tall and spare, without any great Bellies, and well-countenanc'd.

The Country is all plain, bearing little Grass and few Trees; and in the Harbour were Abundance of Crocodiles or Alligators, which go out to feed, and sleep ashore, and scatter a Scent as if all the Musk in the World was together; but are so ravenous and cruel, that if they find a Man Sleeping, they drag him into the Water to devour him; though it is said, they are fearful and cowardly when attack'd.

On *Monday*, the 5th of *December*, the Admiral, perceiving the violent East and North-East Winds were not abated, and that there was no trading with those People, resolv'd to sail back again, to be satisfied concerning what the

the *Indians* had told him of the Mines of *Veragua*; and accordingly that Day he return'd to *Porto Bello*, ten Leagues westward; and continuing his Course the next Day, was assaulted by a west Wind, which was opposite to his Design; but he believing this Wind would not last long, would not alter his Course, but bore up against it for some Days, when the Weather prov'd so unsettl'd, that no sooner it seem'd a little favourable to go to *Veragua*, but another Wind would start up, and drive him towards *Porto Bello*; and when he was almost in Hopes to get into Port, he was quite beat off again, and sometimes with such Thunder and Lightning, that the Men durst not open their Eyes, the Ships seeming to be just sinking, and the Sky to be coming down.

Sometimes also the Thunder was so continual, that they concluded, some Ship fir'd its Cannon to desire Assistance; and another time there would fall such Storms of Rain, that it would last violently for two or three Days, in-somuch that it look'd like another universal Deluge.

In this Perplexity all the Men were ready to despair, seeing they could not get half an Hour's Rest, being continually wet, turning sometimes one way and sometimes another, struggling against all the Elements, and being in Danger from all. Besides these Terrors, there likewise occur'd another no less dangerous and wonderful, which was a Spout that rose from the Sea, on *Tuesday* the 13th of *December*, drawing the Water up to the Clouds like a Pillar, thicker than a Butt, and twisting it about like a Whirl-

Whirlwind. But this Danger, we are told, they escap'd, by reading over the Gospel of St. *John*, according to the Superstition of those Times.

The same Night they lost Sight of the Ship call'd *Caino*, but had the good Fortune to see her again, after three dreadful, dark Days; though she had lost her Boat, and been in great Danger, being so near Land as to cast Anchor, which she lost at long run, being forc'd to cut her Cable. It was observ'd here, that the Currents on this Coast follow the Wind, running westward with the East-wind, and so on the contrary, the Water still going after the prevailing Wind.

The Ships, being now almost shatter'd to Pieces with the Tempest, and the Men quite spent with Labour, a Day or two's Calm happily interven'd, and gave them a little Respite; but, at the same Time, brought such Multitudes of Sharks about the Ships, that they were dreadful to behold, especially for such as were superstitious, by Reason it was then a common Report, that, as Ravens follow Armies, ready to perish, so Sharks have the same foreboding Instinct in regard to Shipwrecks. However, it is certain they are of a most voracious Nature, and, if they lay hold of a Man's Arm or Leg, will cut it off like a Razor, having two enormous Rows of Teeth, after the Manner of a double Saw.

A vast Quantity of these were kill'd by the Sailors, with the Hook and Chain, so many, that not knowing what to do with them, they left the greatest Part swimming upon the Water;
for

for the Sharks are so greedy, that they will not only bite at Carrion, but may be taken with a red Rag upon a Hook. As an Instance of this Voracity, a Torroise was taken out of the Belly of one of them, which afterwards liv'd aboard the Ship; and out of the Belly of another, was taken the whole Head of one of his own Kind, which the Spaniards had before cut off, and thrown into the Water, as not good to eat, and this Shark had swallow'd it, which, at first Sight, seem'd something surprizing, that one Creature should swallow the Head of another of its own Bigness; but this Creature has a Mouth which reaches almost to its Belly, and the Head is shap'd like an Olive.

However, notwithstanding no Part of them was very good to eat, any more than the Head, and though some look'd upon them as Fish of bad Omen; yet every one on board the Ships was glad of them; by Reason of the Want they were in, having been now above eight Months at Sea, so that they had consum'd all the Fish and Flesh brought from *Spain*; and what with the Heat and Moisture of the Sea, the Bisket was so full of Maggots, that many of the Crew, whose Stomachs were of the nicest, would stay till Night, to eat the Pottage or Brewice made of it, that they might not see the Maggots; and others were so us'd to eat them, that they never minded to throw them away when they saw them, fearing they might run a Hazard of losing their Suppers, if they were over-curious.

On *Saturday* the 17th, the Admiral put into a Port, three Leagues off *Pennon*, call'd by the

Indians Haiva. It was like a great Bay, where they rested three Days, and, going ashore, saw the Inhabitants, who dwelt on the Tops of Trees like Birds, laying Sticks across from Bough to Bough, and building Huts upon them, rather than Houses. Though the *Spaniards* knew not the Reason of this strange Custom, yet they guess'd it to be done for Fear of wild Beasts, which are numerous in that Country, or of Enemies; for all along that Coast, the People, at every League Distance, are great Enemies one to another.

Sailing from this Port, on the 20th, they met with fair Weather, but not settl'd; for as soon as they were got out to Sea, the Tempest began to rage again, and drove them into another Port, whence they departed again the third Day, the Weather seeming somewhat mended; but, like an Enemy that lies in wait for a Man, it rush'd out again, and forc'd them to *Pennon*, where, when they hop'd to put in, the Wind started up so contrary, that they were drove again towards *Veragua*.

Being at Anchor in the River, the Weather became again so stormy, that all the Favour they had from it was, that it allow'd them to get into a Port where they had been before on the 21st of the same Month.

Here they continu'd from the 2d Day in *Christmas*, till the 3d of *January* the following Year, 1500. when having repair'd the Ship call'd *Gullegu*, and taken aboard a large Quantity of *Indian* Wheat, Water, and Wood, they turn'd back towards *Veragua*, with bad Weather and contrary Winds, which chang'd crossly, just

as the Admiral alter'd his Course; as if Fortune had taken a Pleasure in persecuting him the ought most to have favour'd. From the uncommon Trouble he met with in his Voyage upon this Coast, he call'd it *Costa de Contrassés*, or the *Coast of Thwartings*.

On *Thursday*, being the Feast of the *Epiphany*, they cast Anchor near a River, call'd by the *Indians Yebra*, and by the Admiral *Belem*, or *Betlehem*, because he came thither upon the Feast of the *Three Kings*. Here he caus'd the Mouth of that River, and of another, more westward, to be sounded; the latter of these the *Indians* call *Veragua*, where he found but shoal Water; but in that of *Belem* 4 Fathom at high Water.

The Boats went up this last River to the Town, where they were inform'd the Gold Mines of *Veragua* were; but, at first, the *Indians* were so far from conversing with them in a friendly Manner, that they assembl'd together with their Weapons to hinder the *Christians* from landing. And the next Day the Boats going to the River of *Veragua*, the *Indians* there observ'd exactly the same Conduct, and that not only ashore, but likewise stood upon their Guard, with their Canoes in the Water. But an *Indian* of that Coast, who understood them a little, going ashore with the *Christians*, and telling them they were good People, and desir'd nothing but what they paid for, they were somewhat pacify'd, and exchange'd twenty Gold Plates, some hollow Pieces like Joints of Reeds, and some Grains never melted, which, to enhance their Value

they said were gathered a great way off upon high rugged Mountains, that when they gather'd it, they neither eat, nor carried any Women along with them. The same Thing was affirm'd by the People of *Hispaniola*, when that Island was first discover'd.

On *Monday*, the 9th of *January*, the Admiral himself went up the River, with his Ship, and that call'd *Biscaina*; when the *Indians* presently came to trade for such Things as they had, particularly Fish, which, at certain Times of the Year, comes out of the Sea up these Rivers in such Quantities, as seems incredible to such as have not seen it. They also exchange'd some little Bits of Gold for Pins, and what they most valued they gave for Beads or Hawks-Bells.

The next Day, the other two Ships likewise came in, which they could not do at first, because, there being but little Water at the Mouth of the River, they were oblig'd to stay for the Flood; though the Sea there never rises or falls above half a Fathom.

Veragua being so fam'd for its Mines and extraordinary Wealth, the third Day after their Arrival, the Admiral's Brother went up the River, with his Boats, to the Town where *Quibio* the *Indian* King resided, who hearing of the Lieutenant's coming, went down the River in his Canoes to meet him. This Interview pass'd in the most friendly Manner, each giving the other, interchangeably, such Things as they valu'd most, and having discours'd together a considerable Time, they parted with mutual Marks of Esteem and Satisfaction.

The

The next Day, the aforesaid Monarch went on board to visit the Admiral; where, after a Conversation of about an Hour, the Admiral presented him with some Toys, and the Sailors truck'd Bells for some Gold, after which he return'd, without any Ceremony, in the same Manner as he came.

Whilst they lay thus easy, and secure, as they thought, from any Danger, on *Wednesday* the 24th of *January*, the River of *Belem* swell'd so high on the sudden, that before they could provide against it, or carry a Cable ashore, the Fury of the Water came so impetuously against the Admiral's Ship, that it broke one of her two Anchors, and drove her with such Violence against the Ship *Gallega*, which lay astern of her, that it brought the Foremast by the Board, and they were both carried away, foul of one another, in the utmost Danger of Perishing.

The Cause of this mighty Flood was suppos'd by some to be the great Rains, they having never ceas'd falling all the Winter in that Country; but had that been the Case, the River would have swell'd by Degrees, and not all on the sudden, which made the Admiral, with more Probability, judge that some violent Showers had fallen on the Mountains of *Vera-gua*, which he call'd *St. Christopher's*. The highest of these is higher than the Region of the Air, and lies at least 20 Leagues up the Country.

This Tempest lasted so long, that they had Time enough to refit and Caulk the Ships; but the Waves, all the while, broke so furiously upon

upon the Mouth of the River, that the Boats could not go out to discover along the Coast, to learn where the Mines lay, and to chuse a Place proper for the building a Town; for the Admiral had resolv'd to leave his Brother here, with most of the Men, that they might settle here and subdue the Country, while he himself return'd to *Spain*, to sollicite new Supplies of Men and Provisions.

With this Prospect, the Weather growing a little calmer, on *Monday* the 6th of *February*, he dispatch'd his Brother with 68 Men, by Sea, to the Mouth of *Veragua* River, a League distant from *Belem*, westward; and accordingly he went a League and half up the River, to the Cacique *Quibio's* Town, where he staid a whole Day enquiring out the Way to the Mines.

On *Wednesday* they travell'd four Leagues and a half, and came to lie near a River, which they cross'd 44 Times, and the next Day advanc'd a League and half towards the Mines, which were shew'd them by *Indians* sent by *Quibio* to guide them, and in about two Hours after they arriv'd there, where every Man gather'd some Gold about the Roots of the Trees, which were there very thiek, and of a prodigious Heighth.

This Sample was look'd upon as invaluable, because none of those that went had any Tools to dig, or had ever gather'd any before. Therefore, as the Design of their Journey was only to get Intelligence of the Mines, they return'd, extreemly pleas'd, that same Day to *Veragua*, and the next to the Ships.

But

But it must not be forgot, what was afterwards discover'd, That these Mines were not, in Reality, those of *Veragua*, which lay much nearer, but those of *Urica*, a Town whose People were Enemies to those of *Veragua*; to spite whom, and to preserve his own untouched, *Quibio*, had cunningly order'd his *Indians* to conduct the *Spaniards* thither.

On *Thursday*, the 14th of *February*, 1503, the Admiral's Brother went again into the Country with 40 Men, a Boat following with 14 more; and the next Day came to the River of *Urica*, 7 Leagues from *Belem* westward.

Here the *Cacique* came a League from his Town to meet him, with 20 Men in his Train, and presented him with a great Quantity of Provision, and some Gold Plates were likewise exchange'd. All the while they stopp'd here, the aforesaid *Cacique*, and his principal Men, never ceas'd putting a dry Herb into their Mouths and chewing it, and sometimes also they took along with that Herb a Sort of Powder of a very odd Appearance.

Having rested themselves here, for some Time, the *Christians* and *Indians* went together to the Town, in the most friendly Manner, where abundance of People came out to them, and assign'd them a House to lodge in, supplying them with Plenty of Provisions.

Soon after their Arrival at this Place, the *Cacique* of *Dururi*, which is a neighbouring Town, came to visit them, with a great many *Indians*, who brought some Gold Plates to exchange; all which *Indians* affirm'd, that there were *Caciques* up the Country who had Plenty
of

of Gold, and abundance of Men arm'd after the same Manner as the *Spaniards*.

But this Intelligence did not hinder the Lieutenant, the next Day, from ordering 24 of his Men to return by Land to the Ships, while he, with the other 30, held on his Journey towards *Zobrada*, where the Fields for above 6 Leagues were all full of *Maiz*, like our Corn-Fields.

From thence he went to *Cateba*, another Town, at which Place, as well as the former, he was entertain'd in the most friendly Sort, abundance of Provisions being sent him, and some Gold Plates exchang'd, most of which weigh'd about 12 Ducats, more or less, and were worn by the *Indians* about their Necks, hanging by a String, as the *Romans* do their Relicks.

The Lieutenant, being now got a great Distance from the Ships, and not finding any Port along that Coast, nor any River bigger, or more convenient than that of *Belem*, for the Settlement of his Colony, he return'd back the same Way, on the 24th of *February*, bringing with him a considerable Quantity of Gold, which he had got by the above-mention'd Exchanges.

As soon, therefore, as he came back, Order was taken for his Stay, and 80 Men being appointed to remain with him, they agreed by 10 and 10, or more or fewer in a Company, and immediately began to build Houses upon the Bank of the aforesaid River of *Belem*, about a Cannon Shot from the Mouth of it, within a Trench that lies on the Right-Hand, as you come up the River.

Besides

Besides these Houses, which were all of Timber, and cover'd with Palm-Tree Leaves, that grew along the Shore, they likewise built another very large House, to serve as a Store-House and Magazine, into which several Pieces of Cannon were put, with a Quantity of Powder and Provisions, and other Necessaries for the Support of the Planters. But as for the Wine, Bisket, Oil, Vinegar, Cheese, and Grain they had left, which was all they had to subsist on, these were laid up in the safest Place aboard the Ship call'd *Gallega*, that was to be left with the Lieutenant, that he might use it either for Land or Sea-Service, as he saw Occasion, for which Purpose it had all its Cordage, with Nets, Hooks, and other fishing Tackle; for, as we have already observ'd, there is vast Plenty of Fish in that Country in every River, several Sorts at certain Times running along the Coast in Shoals, on which the People of the Country feed more than upon Flesh; for though they have many Kinds of Cattle amongst them, yet they are far from being enough to maintain them.

As to the Customs of these *Indians*, they are for the most Part like those of the Inhabitants of *Hispaniola*, and the neighbouring Islands; except that these People of *Veragua*, and the Country about it, when they eat, or talk to one another, turn their Backs, and are always chewing an Herb, which seems to be the Occasion that their Teeth are, in general, decay'd and rotten.

Then as to their Food it is chiefly Fish, which they take with Nets, and Hooks made of Tortoise-Shell,

toise-Shell, which they cut with a Thread, as if they were sawing. The same Hooks they likewise use in the Islands.

They have also another Way of catching some very small Fishes, which in *Hispaniola* are call'd *Titi*. These, at certain Times being drove to the Shore by the Rains, are so persecuted by the bigger Fish, that they are forc'd up to the Top of the Water, where the *Indians* take as many as they please of them in little Mats, or small Nets, after which they wrap them up in the Leaves of Trees, and having dry'd them in an Oven, they keep a long Time.

They likewise catch Pilchards in a way something like this; for at certain Seasons, these Fishes fly from the great ones with such Violence and Terror, that they leap out two or three Paces upon the dry Land, when they have nothing to do but to take them in their Mats as they do the others.

They have also another Method of taking Pilchards, which is this, in the middle of their Canoes they raise a Partition of Palm-Tree Leaves, from Stem to Stern, two Yards high, and plying about the River make a Noise, and beat against the Banks with their Oars, when the Pilchards, to escape the other Fish, leap into the Canoes, and hitting against those Leaves fall in, by which means they take as many as they please. They have moreover several other Sorts of Fish that pass along the Coast in Shoals, of which they take vast Quantities, and sometimes keep them a long Time roasted.

They

They have likewise abundance of Maiz, which is a Sort of Grain, growing in an Ear, or hard Head like Millet, whereof they make a white and red Liquor of a pleasant Taste, like a sharp, brisk Wine, after the same Manner as Beer is made in *England*; and with this they mix of their Spice as pleases their Palate.

They also make another Sort of Wine of certain Trees like Palms, whence they draw a Juice which they boil up with Water and Spice; and of this they make a wonderful Account.

They likewise make another Wine of the Fruit already mention'd, to be found in the Island *Guadalupe*, which is like a great Pine-Apple. This is planted in large Fields, and the Plant is a Sprout growing out at the Top of the Fruit itself, like that which grows out of a Cabbage or Lettice. One of these Plants will bear for three or four Years together.

They also make Wine of several other Sorts of Fruit, and in particular, of one that grows upon very high Trees, and is as big as a large Lemon, every one having two or three, and some nine Stones like Nuts, only they are not round, but ob-long, or like a Chesnut. The Rind of this Fruit is like that of a Pomgranate, and when first taken from the Tree resembles it exactly, excepting only that it wants the prickly Circle at the Top. The Taste is like a Peach, and the *Indians* call it *Mamei*.

But to return to the Colony, all Things were now settl'd for its Establishment, and 10 or 12 Houses built and thatch'd, when the Admiral being ready to sail for *Spain*, fell into greater

Danger for the Want of Water than he had been in before by the Inundation. For the great Rains of *January* being over, the Mouth of the River was so lock'd up with Sand, that whereas when the Ships came in there was about ten Foot Water, which was scant enough, there was not two Foot now, so that they were shut up without any Help, having nothing left but to have recourse to God, and beg Rain of him, as before they had pray'd for fair Weather; for the Rain they very well knew would swell the River, and clear the Sand from the Mouth of it, as is usual in those Cases.

Meantime, while they were expecting when Providence would throw down the Bars of this sandy Prison, it was discover'd by means of the Interpreter, that *Quibio*, the Cacique of *Veragua* intended to set Fire to the Houses, and destroy all the *Christians*, to oblige the *Indians*, who were unanimously against their planting upon that River. Wherefore it was thought fit, as a Punishment due to him, and for a Terror and Example to others, to make him a Prisoner with all his principal Men, and to send them into *Spain*; and that his Town should remain at the Disposal of the *Christians*.

For this Purpose, on the 30th of *March*, the Lieutenant went with 76 Men towards the Town, or rather it may be call'd the Village of *Veragua*, seeing no two Houses stand close together, but all of them at a Distance from one another. When *Quibio* hearing of the Lieutenant's Approach, sent him word not to come up to his House, which stood upon a Hill above the River of *Veragua*; whereupon the Lieutenant,

nant, that he might not awake his Jealousy too far, resolv'd to go with only 5 Men, ordering those he left behind to come after him, two and two, at some Distance from each other, and that when they heard a Musquet fir'd, they should beset the House that none might escape.

Being come up to the House, *Quibio* sent out another Messenger, desiring him not to go in, for that he himself would come out to talk to him, though he was wounded with an Arrow, which he did that his Women might not be seen, of whom he was exceeding jealous.

Accordingly he came, and sat him down at the Door, bidding only the Lieutenant come near him, who did so, but not till he had whisper'd his Orders to the rest, to fall on as soon as they saw him lay hold of his Arm, which was the Signal agreed upon.

Then addressing himself to the Cacique, he ask'd him some Questions concerning his Indisposition, and the Affairs of the Country, by the Assistance of the above-mention'd *Indian* Interpreter, that he had brought with him, and who seem'd very much terrified; for this Man, knowing *Quibio's* Design to destroy all the *Christians*, and not knowing the Strength of the latter, thought it might easily be done by the great Multitude of People there was in that Province.

But he was much more astonish'd when he saw the Lieutenant, pretending to look where the Cacique was wounded, took him by the Arm; and though they were both very strong, yet the Lieutenant take such good Hold, that he lost it not till the other four came up, which
done,

done, one of them fir'd a Musquet, and on a sudden all the *Christians* running out of their Ambush, beset the House, in which there were 30 People, great and small, most of which were taken, and not one wounded; for they, seeing their King seiz'd, would make no Resistance.

Among these, were several of the Wives and Children of *Quibio*, and other principal Persons, who offer'd great Wealth for their Ransoms, affirming, that there was a vast Treasure hid in the adjoining Wood, all which they would give for their Liberties. But the Lieutenant, having no Intention to listen to these Proposals, immediately order'd *Quibio*, with his Wives and Children, and the other chief Men to be carried aboard, before the Country took the Alarm; while himself stay'd behind with most of the Men, to go in Quest of those who were fled.

Having consulted, therefore, with the Captains and chief Men, whom they should entrust to conduct the Prisoners to the Mouth of the River, he at last deliver'd them to *John Sanchez de Cadiz*, a Pilot, and a Man of a fair Reputation, who offer'd to carry them, with a particular Charge to take especial Care that the Cacique should not escape, who, for his greater Security, was bound both Hands and Feet.

But as it happen'd they could not have been committed to a more unlucky Keeper; for this Man having taken them into his Custody, and being now come within half a League of the Mouth of *Veragua* River, *Quibio* complain'd that his Hands were too hard bound, when

Sanchez,

Sanchez, out of Compassion, loos'd him from the Seat of the Boat, to which he was tied, and held the Rope in his Hand. But he soon found what it was to deal with an *Indian*; for *Quibio* observing that his Eyes were off him, threw himself into the Water, and *Sanchez* not being able to hold fast the Rope, was oblig'd to let go, that he might not drag him after into the Water. When Night coming on, and those in the Boat being all in Confusion, they could neither see nor hear where he got ashore; so that they could distinguish no more of him than if a Stone had fallen into the Water. However that the like might not happen with the rest of the Prisoners, they held on their Way to the Ships, with much Shame for their Carelessness and Oversight.

The next Day after this Misfortune, the Lieutenant, perceiving that the Country was very mountainous and woody, and that there were no regular Towns, but only a few straggling Houses at a great Distance from one another, and that it would be very difficult to pursue the *Indians* from Place to Place, resolv'd to return to the Ships with his Men, not one of which was either kill'd or wounded.

Accordingly, being arriv'd there, he presented the Admiral with the Plunder of *Quibio's* House, which was worth about 300 Ducats, and consisted of Gold Plates, little Eagles of Gold, and small Quills which they string and wear about their Legs and Arms, and Gold Twists which they put about their Heads in the Nature of a Coronet. All which Things, deducting only the 5th Part for their *Catholick* Majesties,

Majesties, were equally divided among those that went upon the Expedition: And to the Lieutenant, in Token of Victory, was given one of those Crowns or Coronets abovemention'd.

All Things being thus put in Order, for the Security and Maintenance of the Colony, and a Plan for their Government being settl'd by the Admiral, it pleas'd God, to send so much Rain as swell'd the River and open'd the Mouth of it, upon which the Admiral resolv'd to sail directly for *Hispaniola*, that he might send them speedy Supplies from that Place.

Accordingly, after having waited a little while for a Calm, that the Sea might not beat upon the Mouth of the River, he ventur'd out with the 3 Ships, the Boats going a-head and towing them; yet never a one got out so well, but its Keel rac'd upon the Sand, and they had certainly been in very great Danger, notwithstanding the Calm, had these been any other than loose and moving Sands.

Having thus conquer'd this Difficulty, and taken in all they had unladed to lighten the Ships, that they might get out; as they lay waiting for a Wind upon the Coast, a League from the Mouth of the River, it pleas'd God, as it were by an extraordinary Providence, to give them an Occasion of sending the Admiral's Boat ashore, as well for Water as for other necessary Affairs, that by the Loss of this, both those ashore, and those in the Ships might be preserv'd, which happen'd in the following Manner.

When

When *Quibio* and his *Indians* saw that the Ships were without the Banks of Sand at the Mouth of the River, and could not possibly relieve them that were left behind, they assaulted the *Christian* Colony just at the very Juncture that the Boat came to the Shore; their Approach not having been discover'd before, by Reason of the thickness of the Wood. But as soon as they came within ten Paces of the *Spaniards* Houses, they rush'd on with great Shouts, casting Javelins at all those they saw, and at the very Houses themselves, which being cover'd with Palm-Tree Leaves, were easily struck through and through, by which means they sometimes wounded those within.

Having thus surpriz'd the *Spaniards*, who thought of no such Thing, they wounded four or five of them at the first Onset, before they could put themselves into a Posture of Defence. But the Lieutenant, who was a Man of great Resolution, falling out against them with a Spear, and falling furiously on the *Indians*, with 7 or 8 of his Men that follow'd him, encourag'd by his Example, repuls'd them with so much Vigour, that he made them glad to retire to the Wood, which, as we before observ'd, was close to the Houses.

From hence they frequently return'd and skirmish'd, casting their Javelins and then retiring, as the *Spaniards* use to do in the Sport they call *Juego de Cannas*, many of them flying from the *Christians* after they had felt the Edge of their Swords, and the Teeth of a Dog, which fell in among them with great Fury, so that at length they were entirely put

to Flight, after having kill'd one *Christian* and wounded 7, of which Number was the Lieutenant, who was wounded with a Javelin in the Breast.

But to return to the Boat, which we left just come to the Shore when this Encounter began, the Commander of it, who was Captain *John Trifan*, though highly blam'd by some for not assisting the *Christians*, yet absolutely refus'd to land, alledging he did so, that those ashore might not croud into the Boat and so all perish; besides, if the Boat was lost, the Admiral would be in Danger at Sea, and therefore he would do no more than what he had been commanded, which was to take in Water, and to see what need the Colony had of his Assistance.

Resolving therefore not to exceed his Commission, and to take in the Water immediately, that he might make haste back to the Admiral, with an Account of what had happen'd, he went up the River for it, being oblig'd to do so till he came where the sweet did not mix with the Salt, though several of the Company advis'd him to the contrary, for the Danger there was of the *Indians* and their Canoes; to which he gallantly reply'd, that Danger was out of the Question, when their Business was to execute their Admiral's Order.

Persisting therefore in this unfortunate Determination, he went up the River, which is very deep within, and shelter'd on both Sides with abundance of Trees, which come to the edge of the Water, and are so thick, that there is scarce any going ashore, except in some
Places,

Places, which are the Fishermens Paths, and where they hide their Canoes. When the *Indians* perceived he was got about a League from the Colony up the River, they immediately rush'd out from their Ambush on both Sides the River in their Canoes, and, making a hideous Noise and blowing their Horns, assaulted him with great Fury and with great Odds on their Side, by Reason of their Multitude and the Swiftnefs of their Canoes, which one Man is able to command and turn which Way he pleases.

In each of these Canoes there were three or four Men, one of which row'd, while the rest cast their Javelins at those in the Boat; for Javelins they may properly be call'd, because of their Bigness, though they had no Iron-Heads, but were only pointed with the Bones of Fishes.

On the other Hand, there being but seven or eight Men in the Boat who row'd, and the Captain with three or four to fight, they could not cover themselves against the many Javelins that were launch'd at them, and therefore they were oblig'd to quit their Oars to betake themselves to their Targets; but such was the Multitude of *Indians* which pour'd in upon them on all Sides, coming up and retiring in good Order, that most of the *Christians* were soon wounded, especially the Captain, who was hurt in several Places, and though he stood undaunted and unmov'd encouraging his Men, it avail'd him little; for he was so beset on all Sides, that he could not stir nor make use of his Musquet, till at last a Javelin being struck into his Eye, he fell down dead; and all the rest came

to the like unhappy Fate, except one *John de Noia* of *Sevil*, who by good Luck, in the heighth of the Fray, fell into the Water, and diving got to the Shore, after which he made his Way through the thickest of the Wood to the Colony, with an Account of what had happen'd.

This melancholy News so terrified the rest of the *Spaniards*, that seeing they were but a small Number left, many of their Companions being kill'd, and others wounded, and that the Admiral was at Sea without a Boat, and in Danger not to return to any Place whence he might send them Relief, they resolv'd not to stay there any longer; and accordingly would have gone away immediately without waiting for Orders, had not the Mouth of the River hinder'd them, the bad Weather having shut it up again, so that neither could the Ship they had left them get out, nor durst any Boat attempt it, by Reason the Sea beat so violently, insomuch that there was no Possibility of sending the Admiral Advice of what had happen'd.

Nor was he himself in less Danger, riding in an open Road, without any Boat, and having but a few Men; so that they were all in the utmost Trouble and Confusion, as well as those ashore, who reflecting on what had happen'd, and seeing them that had been kill'd in the Boat, drive down the River, cover'd with Wounds, and follow'd by the Country Crows, look'd upon it as a terrible Omen, and dreaded coming to the same Fate, and the more so, because the *Indians*, puff'd up with Success, gave them

them not a Minute's Respite, by Reason of the ill Situation of the Colony; and there is no question but they must have all perish'd, had not they taken advice to move to an open Strand eastward, where they fortified themselves round with some Casks and other Things, and planting the Cannon in convenient Places defended themselves so well, that the *Indians* durst not so much as peep out of the Wood, for fear of the Bullets, which made great Slaughter amongst them.

While these Things were transacting, the Admiral waited ten Days, with the utmost Impatience, fearing what might be the Occasion, and expecting till the Sea would settle, that he might send another Boat to know what it was that detain'd the first; but Fortune, which seem'd to take a Pleasure in crossing him, would not allow them to hear from one another; and to add to their Affliction, it happen'd that the Sons and Kindred of *Quibio*, who were kept Prisoners aboard the Ship *Bermuda*, to carry them to *Spain*, found means to make their Escape, which they effected in the following Manner.

Being kept every Night under the Hatches, and the Scuttle being so high that they could not reach it, the Watch neglected to fasten it down with a Chain as usual, and especially because some Seamen lay upon it; this the Prisoners perceiving, they one Night gather'd together the Stones that were in the Hold under the Scuttle, and raising themselves upon them, set their Shoulders against it, and forc'd it open, tumbling those that lay on it over and over,
and

and some of the principal Men leaping out cast themselves into the Sea. But the Seamen immediately taking the Alarm, and the Scuttle being fasten'd down with the Chain, many of them were stop'd short, who in Despair, that they could not get off with their Companions, hang'd themselves with what Ropes they could come at, and in that Condition were found the next Morning, their Feet and Knees dragging upon the Bottom of the Hold, the Place not being high enough for them to hang without touching, insomuch that all the Prisoners aboard that Ship either escap'd or perish'd.

This loss indeed was not directly material to the Ships, but besides that it increas'd the Number of Misfortunes, it was justly apprehended that it might be very prejudicial to those ashore; because, tho' *Quibio* would willingly have come to Terms with them to get his Children, yet now, there being no Hostage left, there was Cause to suspect he would renew the War with the greater Fury.

Being thus surrounded with Troubles and Difficulties, which were more likely to encrease every Day than diminish, and having nothing to trust to but their Anchors and Cables, without being able to hear any Thing from Shore, there wanted not some gallant Spirits, who cry'd out, that since those *Indians*, only to obtain their Liberty, had ventur'd to leap into the Sea above a League from Shore, they, to save themselves and so many of their Companions, would be content to swim ashore, provided the Boat that was left might carry them as far as the breaking of the Waves; for they had

had still one Boat remaining, which was that of the Ship *Bermuda*; for that of the *Biscaina*, as we have already observ'd, was lost in the Fray, so that at present they had only one Boat among all the three Ships.

The Admiral hearing this honest Proposal, highly approv'd of it, and accordingly the Boat carried them within a Musket-shot of Land, not being able to go nearer without manifest Danger, by reason of the great Waves that broke upon it. Here one *Peter de Ledesma*, a Pilot of *Sevil*, threw himself into the Water, and with a good Heart got to Shore, where he learn'd the Condition the *Spaniards* were in, who all unanimously told him that they would not upon any Account remain there any longer in that forlorn Condition, and therefore desir'd him to tell the Admiral not to sail till he had taken them off, for to leave them there was no other than sacrificing them; and the rather because there were already Divisions amongst them, and they neither hearken'd to the Admiral's Brother, nor the Captains, all their Care being, with the first fair Weather, to secure a Canoe and get aboard, by reason this could not be conveniently done with only the one Boat that was left them. Adding, that if the Admiral would not receive them, they would endeavour to save their Lives aboard that Ship they had left, and rather trust Fortune than lie at the Mercy of the *Indians*, who would not fail to take the first Opportunity of butchering them.

With this Answer *Peter de Ledesma* return'd to the Boat, which waited for him, and thence

to the Ships, where he gave the Admiral an Account how Affairs stood; who understanding the Rout, Confusion, and Despair those ashore were in, resolv'd to stay and bring them off, notwithstanding the great Danger of such an Attempt, by reason his Ships lay in an open Road, out of all Shelter, and without Hopes of escaping had the Weather grown more boisterous.

But it pleas'd God that during the 8 Days he continu'd there, the Weather mended so much, that those ashore, with their Boat, and some large Canoes fast bound together that they might not overset, began to embark their Goods, and every one striving not to be the last, they us'd such Diligence, that in the Space of two Days nothing was left ashore but the Hulk of the Ship, which by reason of the Worms was unfit for Service.

Rejoicing that they were thus all got together again, they sail'd up that Coast Eastward; for though all the Pilots were of Opinion that they might return to *St. Domingo*, standing away to the North; yet the Admiral and his Brother would not suffer it, well-knowing it was requisite to run a considerable way up that Coast, before they struck across the Gulph that is between the Continent and *Hispaniola*, which many of the Crew were much offended at, imagining that the Admiral's Design was to sail directly for *Spain*, whereas he neither had Provisions, nor were his Ships in a Condition for such a Voyage.

But the Admiral knowing best what was fit to be done, paid no Regard to their Murmurs, but held on his Course till he came to *Porto Bello*,

Bello, where he was forc'd to leave the Ship *Biscaina*, it was so leaky, being all worm-eaten through and through.

Keeping still along the Coast, they pass'd by the Port call'd *Retrete*, and a Country near which there were abundance of small Islands, which the Admiral call'd *las Barbas*, but the *Indians* and Pilots the Territory of the Cacique *Pocorofa*.

From hence they held on 10 Leagues, to the last Land they saw of the Continent, call'd *Marmora*, and on *Monday* the first of *May* 1503. stood to the Northward, the Wind and Currents being east, which made them lie as near the Wind as they could; and though all the Pilots affirm'd they should be east of the *Caribbe* Islands; yet the Admiral was afraid he shou'd not make *Hispaniola*, which prov'd the Truth; for upon *Wednesday* the 10th. of the same Month of *May*, they came in sight of two very small and low Islands, full of Tortoises, as was all the Sea thereabout; insomuch that they look'd like little Rocks, for which Reason those Islands were call'd *Tortugas*, or *Tortoises*.

Sailing on still northwards, on the *Friday* following, about Evening, 30 Leagues from those Islands, they came to those call'd *Jardin de la Reina*, or the *Queen's Garden*, which is a great Number of Islands on the South side of *Cuba*.

Here as they lay at an Anchor, 10 Leagues from *Cuba*, in great Extremity, having nothing to eat but Bisket, with some little oil and Vinegar, labouring Day and Night at the Pump, by Reason the Ships were so worm-eaten they were ready to sink, a great Storm arose in the Night,

and the Ship *Bermuda* not being able to ride it out, ran foul of the Admiral, and broke her Stem, and her own Stern; and it was with much Difficulty, because of the Roughness of the Sea and Wind, that they got clear of one another; and though they cast all their Anchors, yet none would hold, except the Sheet Anchor, whose Cable, when Day appear'd, was found to hold by only a single Thread, which, if the Night had lasted one Hour longer, must have given Way, and all the Place being full of Rocks, they could not have miss'd splitting upon some of those that lay a-stern them.

Being thus deliver'd from this Danger by the good Providence of God, they sail'd hence with much Toil, and came to an *Indian* Town on the Coast of *Cuba*, call'd *Mataia*, where having got some Refreshment, they stood for *Jamaica*; for the east Winds and great Currents setting westward, would not permit them to stand for *Hispaniola*, especially the Ships being so worm-eaten, that in each of them, as hath been already observ'd, they never ceas'd, Day and Night, working at three Pumps, and if any one broke, while it was mended, they were forc'd to supply the Want of it with Kettles.

But for all this, the Night before *Midsummer Eve*, the Water rose so high in the Admiral's Ship, that there was no draining of it, since it came almost up to the Deck; and with much Labour it was that they held out, in this Manner, till Day appearing they put into a Harbour in *Jamaica* call'd *Puerto Bueno*, or the good Harbour;

Harbour; which though convenient enough to take Shelter against a Storm, yet had no fresh Water, nor any Town near it.

Having made the best Shift they could there, on the Day after the Feast of St. *John*, they set out for another Harbour eastward call'd *Santa Gloria*, which is enclos'd with Rocks, where being no longer able to keep the Ships above Water, they run them ashore as far as they could, stranding them close together board to board, and shoaring them up on both Sides, fix'd them in such a Manner that they could not budge; and even in this Posture the Water came upalmost to the Deck, upon which, and the Poop and Forecastle, were Sheds made for the Men to lie in, for Security against the *Indians*, in case they should attack them.

Having thus fortified themselves in their Ships about a Bow-shot from Land, the *Indians*, who prov'd a peaceable good natur'd People, came in great Multitudes in their Canoes to barter Provisions and such Things as they had with their new Guests. Wherefore that there might be no Disorder committed by the *Christians*, and that they might not take more in Exchange than was fitting, and that the *Indians* might have their due, the Admiral appointed two Persons to over-look the Buying of such Things as they brought, and to divide daily among the Men what was got in Exchange; for there was nothing left aboard to subsist on, most of the Provisions being spent, the rest spoil'd, and a great deal lost when the Men came away from *Belem*, where the Hurry and

Confu-

Confusion hinder'd Things being brought off as they should have been.

It was therefore no ordinary Providence in this their Extremity, that it pleased God to direct them to this Island which abounded in Provisions, and was inhabited by *Indians* so peaceable and willing to trade; and for this Reason it was, among others, and that the *Christians* might not disperse about the Island, that the Admiral chose to fortify himself upon the Sea, and not to fix a Dwelling ashore, because the *Spaniards* being naturally disobedient, no Command or Punishment could have kept them from running about the Country, and into the Houses of the *Indians*, to take from them what they found, by which means they would have incens'd their Wives and Children, which would have caus'd Animosities, and made the *Indians* their Enemies; and the taking their Provisions away by Force, must, by stopping their Supplies, have reduc'd them to the utmost Want and Distress.

But all this was happily prevented by the provident Care of the Admiral; for the Men being kept aboard, there was no such Thing as going ashore without leave, which very much pleas'd the *Indians*, who sold two *Huties*, little Creatures like Rabbits, for a bit of Tin, and Cakes of Bread, call'd *Zabi*, for two or three red or yellow glass Beads; and when they brought a Quantity of any Thing they had a *Hawk's-Bell*; and sometimes the Admiral gave a *Cacique*, or great Man, a little Looking-glass, a red Cap, or a pair of Scissars, to please him. And this good Order not only kept the Men
plentifully

plentifully supplied with Provisions, but likewise made the *Indians* very much delighted with their Company.

Mean time, as it was highly requisite to find out some expedient to return to *Spain*, the Admiral often consulted with the Captains and principal Men about the Means of getting out of that Confinement, and returning to *Hispaniola*; for to stay there in Hopes any Ship might arrive was a meer Folly, and to think to build a Vessel was impossible, having neither Tools nor Workmen fit for any such purpose, but what wou'd take up a long Time, and not produce such a Vessel at last as would be able to sail against the Winds and Currents that prevail among those Islands, and therefore the Attempt would be only Time lost, and rather prove their Ruin than Relief.

Wherefore, after many Consultations, it was resolv'd that the Admiral shou'd send to *Hispaniola*, to give an account that he was cast ashore on this Island, and to desire a Ship might be sent with Provisions and Ammunition to bring them off; and that for this purpose, choice should be made of two Persons that might perform it Faithfully and Couragiously. And it must be own'd no Undertaking ever yet requir'd more Fidelity and Courage than this, if we consider how impossible it seem'd that they should be able to pass from one Island to the other in Canoes, and they had no other Way, these being Boats, as hath already been observ'd made of one single Tree hollow'd, and so contriv'd, that, when loaded, they are hardly a Span above Water; besides it was necessary to
have

have them indifferent large, since little ones would be very dangerous, and the biggest, by Reason of their own Weight, were not fit for a long Voyage, or to perform what was intended.

Accordingly two Canoes fit for the Service being chose, the Admiral in July 1503, sent *James Mendez de Segura* his Chief Secretary, in one of them with six Christians and ten *Indians* to row, and in the other *Bartholomew Fiesco* a *Genoese* Gentleman, with the like number of Hands, with orders that as soon as *James Mendez* got over to *Hispaniola*, he should continue his Voyage to *St. Domingo*; but that *Fiesco* shou'd immediately return to bring the News of the other's safe Arrival, that they might not be left in Pain lest some Disaster had befallen him, which there was but too much Cause to apprehend; considering, as hath been already said, how unfit a Canoe is to live upon a rough Sea, and especially when manag'd by Christians; for where there are none but *Indians* the danger is not so great, since they are so dextrous in this particular, that if a Canoe should overset when half way over, they can easily turn it up again as they Swim, and get into it.

But as no Danger appears insurmountable to Honour and Necessity, the above mention'd Persons took their Way along the Coast of *Jamaica* to the easternmost Point of it, which the *Indians* call *Aoamaquique*, from the name of a Cacique of that Province so call'd, 33 Leagues from *Maima*, where they had left the Admiral. But there being 30 Leagues distance between
the

the two Islands, and nothing in the Way but one little Island or Rock, 8 Leagues from *Hispaniola*, it was requisite to expect a Calm in order to cross so great a Sea, in such poor Vessels, which it pleas'd God they were soon favour'd with; when every *Indian* having put aboard his Calabash of Water and *Carrubi*, or such Provisions as they use, and the Christians their Arms and necessary Sustenance, they put out to Sea: After this the Admiral's Brother, who had escorted them thither to see that the *Indians* of the Island shou'd no way interrupt them, return'd by easy Journies towards the Ships, observing with Pleasure in his Way the courteous and friendly Behaviour of the Natives.

Soon after the Canoes were thus gone, the Men left aboard the Ships began to fall sick, as well by reason of the Hardships they had undergone during the Voyage as the change of Diet; for by this Time they had no *Spanish* Provisions left, nor any Wine nor Flesh, except some of those *Haties*, before mention'd, which they happen'd to get in exchange. Insomuch that those who were well, thinking it very hard to be so long confin'd, cou'd not refrain muttering among themselves in Private, that the Admiral would return no more into *Spain*, because their Catholick Majesties had turn'd him off, nor much less into *Hispaniola*, where he had been refus'd Admittance at his coming from *Spain*. That he had only sent those in the Canoes into *Spain* to solicit his own Affairs, and not to bring Ships or other Succours; and that his Design was, while they were executing that Commission, to stay there and fulfil his

his Banishment; for otherwise, said they, *Bartholomew Fiesco* had been come back by this Time, as it was given out he should. Besides, they knew not whether he and *James Mendez* were drown'd by the way, which if it had unfortunately happen'd, they could never expect any Relief, unless they took Care for it themselves, since they had no Room to look for any Thing from the Admiral, both for the Reasons abovemention'd, and because of the Gout which had seiz'd all his Limbs in such a manner that he could scarce stir in his Bed, much less undergo the Fatigue and Danger of crossing over to *Hispaniola* in Canoes. Wherefore they encourag'd each other with a good Heart to fix their Resolution, while they were well, before they fell sick with the Rest, and while it was not in the Admiral's Power to hinder them. Adding, that when they once came to *Hispaniola* they should be so much the better received, by how much the greater the Danger was in which they had left him, because of the Hatred and Enmity born him by the Commendary *Lares*, then Governor of that Island; and that when they went into *Spain* they might be sure of the Favour of the Bishop *Don John de Fonseca*, and likewise of the Treasurer *Morales*, who kept for his Mistress the Sister of the *Porras's*, two Brothers who were the Ring-leaders of this Mutiny, and who made no Question but they should be well received by their Catholick Majesties, before whom they flatter'd themselves all the Fault wou'd be laid upon the Admiral, as it had already been in the Case of *Roldan*; and that

that their Majesties would rather seize him, and take all he had, than be oblig'd to perform the Conditions agreed upon betwixt them and him.

With these and the like Suggestions and Arguments, the aforesaid Brothers, one of whom was Captain of the Ship *Bermuda*, and the other Controller to the Squadron, prevail'd with no less than 48 Men to join in this Conspiracy, who taking *Porras* for their Captain, and having provided what they could against the Day and Hour appointed, and being all ready with their Arms, on the 2d of *January* in the Morning, the aforesaid Captain *Francis de Porras* came upon the Quarter-Deck of the Admiral's Ship, saying to him, my Lord, what is the Meaning that you will not go into *Spain*, but will keep us all here perishing? To these insolent Words, the Admiral, suspecting what the Matter might be, very calmly answer'd, That he did not see which way it was possible to go, till those that were gone in the Canoes sent a Ship. That no Man was more impatient to be gone than he, as well for his own private Interest, as for the good of them all, for whom he was accountable; but that if he had any thing else to propose, he would again summon the Captains and principal Men to a Conference as he had already done several Times before.

To this *Porras* reply'd, that it was no Time to talk, but that he should embark quickly, or stay there by himself; and haughtily turning his Back, cry'd with a loud Voice, *I am going for Spain with those that will follow me*, upon which all his Followers, who were present, began to

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bawl, *we will go with you, we will go with you*, and running about, possessed themselves of the Fore-castle, Poop, and Round-Tops, all in Confusion; some crying, *Let them die*; others, *for Spain, for Spain*; and others, as in a Maze, *what shall we do Captain?*

The Admiral, though at this Time so lame in Bed of the Gout that he could not stand, yet could not forbear rising and stumbling out at this uproar; but two or three worthy Persons, his Servants, immediately laid hold of him, and with much difficulty forc'd him into Bed again, that the Mutineers might not murder him: and running to his Brother who was courageously coming out with a Half-Pike in his Hand, they wrested it from him, and thrust him in to his Brother, desiring Captain *Porras* to go about his Business, since no body oppos'd him, and not to think of an Action for which they might all suffer; since, if he kill'd the Admiral, he could expect no other than the severest Punishment, without the least Hopes of Benefit.

The Tumult being, by this means, somewhat asswag'd, the Conspirators took ten Canoes that lay by the Ship's Side, which the Admiral had got together, with great Difficulty, by sending all about the Island, and went aboard them as joyfully as if they had been in some Port of *Spain*. When many more, who had no hand in the Plot, being in Despair to see themselves, as they thought, forsaken, took what they could lay their hands on, and likewise went aboard the Canoes with them, to the great Sorrow and Affliction of those few faithful Servants who remained with the Admiral,

Admiral, and of all the Sick, who thought themselves for ever lost and depriv'd of all hopes of ever getting off. And it is certain had the People been well, not twenty Men had staid with the Admiral.

After this the Admiral went out to comfort his Men with the best Words the Posture of his Affairs would suggest; while the Mutineers with their Captain *Francis de Porras*, in their Canoes, went away for the East point of the Island, whence *James Mendez* and *Fiesco* had gone over for *Hispaniola*; insulting the Indians wherever they came, and taking away their Provisions and what else they pleas'd by Force; telling them, the Admiral would pay them if they went to him, or, in case he did not, they might kill him, which was the best thing they could do, because he was not only hated by the Christians, but had been the Cause of all the Mischiefs that had befallen the Indians of the other Island, and would do the same by them, if they did not prevent it by his Death, their Destruction being all he propos'd by staying among them.

Having travel'd, in this manner, to the eastermost point of *Jamaica*, the first calm they had, they set out for *Hispaniola*, carrying some Indians in every Canoe to row. But the Weather proving rough and unsettl'd, and their Canoes being over-loaded, they resolv'd to return before they were got four Leagues at Sea, the Wind being against them, and they not able to make any way. Besides they were so unskillful at managing the Canoes, that a good deal of Water flash'd in

over the Sides, to remedy which, they lighten'd, throwing all they carried over-board; so that nothing remain'd but their Arms, and as much Provision as would last them back. But the Wind still freshing, and they thinking themselves in Danger, it was determin'd to Murder all the Indians, and throw them into the Sea, which they accordingly executed upon some of them; and others, who, for fear of Death, had leap'd into the Water, and being weary would hang upon the Canoes to breathe a little, had their Hands cut off, and were wounded in other Parts of the Body; insomuch that they butcher'd Eighteen, leaving only a few alive to steer the Canoes, which they knew not how to do, and had not this need they had of them prevented it, they had compleated the greatest act of Cruelty imaginable, by not leaving one of them alive, after they had by Intreaties and the most deceitful Promises drawn them to their Assistance in this dangerous Voyage.

Being got once more to Shore, they were very much divided in their Opinions how they should dispose of themselves; some saying it was best to go to *Cuba*, and that from the Place where they were, they might take the East-winds and Currents upon their Quarter, and so run over without any trouble in a short Time, and from thence cross to *Hispaniola*, not knowing they were 17 Leagues asunder. Others affirm'd it was best to return to the Ships, and make their Peace with the Admiral, or to take from him by force what Commodities and Arms he had left; and others
were

were for staying till another Calm to attempt the same Passage again, which last Advice being thought the best, they accordingly staid in the Town of *Aoamaquique* above a Month, waiting for fair Weather and destroying the Country.

At length, the fair Weather returning, they embark'd again twice, but made nothing of it, the Wind still proving contrary; vex'd with which Disappointments they set out towards the West, travelling, from one Town to another without either Canoe or Comfort, eating what they could find, and sometimes taking it away by Force, according to their Strength, and that of the *Caciques* through whose Territories they pass'd.

But to return to the Admiral, after the Rebels were gone, he took all possible care that the Sick should be furnish'd with such Things as were proper for their Recovery; and that the *Indians* should be treated in such a manner that they might not forbear bringing Provisions to exchange with the Christians; both which were manag'd by him with such unwearied Application, that the Men soon recover'd, and the *Indians* continued for some Days supplying them with all Things plentifully. But as they are a People that take little pains in Tillage, and as the Spaniards eat more in one Day than they did in twenty; besides as they had no longer the same Inclination to their Commodities and made little Account of them, they began in some Measure to take the Advice of the Mutineers, especially since they saw so great a Body of their
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own Men against them, and therefore brought not such plenty of Provisions as they stood in need of, which reduc'd them to great Distress; for if they would have taken it by force, the major part of them must have gone ashore in a warlike manner, and have left the Admiral expos'd to the most imminent Danger, he being very ill of the Gout; and on the contrary, if they expected till it was brought them, they must pine in Misery, and at last give ten Times as much for it as they did at first, the *Indians* very well knowing how to make their Bargains, as being sensible of the Advantage they had over them.

But as God never forsakes those who have Recourse to him, so the Admiral providentially thought of an Expedient to overcome even this Difficulty, which happen'd thus: Recollecting with himself, that within three Days there would be an Eclipse of the Moon in the first part of the Night, he immediately dispatch'd an *Indian* of *Hispaniola*, that he had brought with him, to summon the principal *Indians* of the Province, telling them he desir'd to confer with them about a Matter of the greatest Importance.

Accordingly they being come the Morning before the Eclipse was to happen, he order'd the Interpreter to acquaint them, that he and his Companions were Christians, and believ'd in God, who dwelt in Heaven, and took care of the Good, and punish'd the wicked: That this God, seeing the Rebellion of the *Spaniards* had not permitted them to go over to *Hispaniola*, as *James Mendez* and *Piesco* had done, but

but had made them run through all those Sufferings and Dangers the whole Island had heard of; and that as for the *Indians*, seeing how negligent they were in bringing Provisions for their Support, he was angry with them, and had decreed to visit them with Plague and Famine; which because, perhaps, they would not believe, God had appointed to give them a manifest Token of it in the Heavens, that they might plainly know their Punishment was to come from him. Wherefore he bad them that night observe when the Moon appear'd, and they should see her rise angry and of a bloody Hue, to denote the Evils God intended should fall upon them.

Having said thus much to them the *Indians* went away, some afraid, and others looking upon it as an idle Story; but the Eclipse beginning as the Moon was rising, and increasing the higher she was, the *Indians* observ'd it, and were so terrified, that they came running from all Parts loaded with Provisions, crying and lamenting, and praying the Admiral by all means to intercede with God for them, that he might not make them feel the Effects of his Wrath, and promising for the future carefully to bring him all he wanted.

The Admiral having thus obtain'd what he desir'd, yielded to their Request, telling them he would speak to his God for them, and accordingly shut himself up all the rest of the Time the Eclipse lasted, they still crying out to him to assist them; and when he saw the Eclipse began to go off, and that the Moon would soon recover its Luster, he came out of his Cabin, saying

saying, he had intreated his God for them, and promis'd him in their Names that they would be kind to the *Christians* for the future, and supply them with what Provisions and other Necessaries they wanted: That therefore his God had forgiven them, and as a Token of it, they should immediately see the Angryness and bloody Colour of the Moon go off; which proving exact as he said, they return'd the Admiral many Thanks, praising his God, and continuing so to do till the Eclipse was quite over. And from that Time forwards they were as good as their Words, always taking Care to provide Plenty of all Necessaries, and never forgetting to extol the God of the *Christians*, who, they certainly concluded, had reveal'd this Accident to the Admiral.

Eight Months being now elaps'd since *James Mendez* and *Bartholomew Fiesco* went away, and there being no News of them, the Admiral's Men were very much cast down, suspecting the worst; some alledging they were lost at Sea; others, that they were kill'd by the *Indians* in *Hispaniola*; and others, that they had died there with Sickness and Hardships; for from that Point of the aforesaid Island, which lay next *Jamaica*, there were above 100 Leagues to *St. Domingo*, whither they were to go for Relief, the Way by Land being over pathless Mountains, and that by Sea against prevailing Winds and Currents. And to confirm this Jealousy, several *Indians* had told them they had seen a Canoe overset, and carried on the Coast of *Jamaica* by the Current, which Report it's likely had been spread abroad by the

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Mutineers, to make those that were left with the Admiral despair of getting off.

These Men therefore concluding that no Relief could ever possibly reach them, one *Bernard* an Apothecary of *Valencia*, with two Companions, whose Names were *Zamora* and *Villatoro*, and many of those that had remain'd Sick, secretly conspir'd together to do the same the others had done before. But God Almighty, who knew how fatal this second Sedition must have prov'd to the Admiral, was pleas'd to put a stop to it by the coming of a Vessel sent by the Governor of *Hispaniola*, which came to an Anchor one Evening near the Ships that were aground.

The Captain of this Vessel was *Don James de Escobar*, who immediately went in his Boat to visit the Admiral, telling him the Commendary and Governor of *Hispaniola* sent him his Commendations; and not being able so soon to dispatch a Ship fit to carry off all those Men, had sent him in the mean Time to visit him in his Name; after which presenting him with a Cask of Wine and two Flitches of Bacon, he return'd to his Caraval, and without waiting for any Letter, or taking any Leave sail'd away that very Evening, to the great surprize of the Admiral, who expected no such Thing.

But notwithstanding, lest the Men might imagine that, perhaps, the Governor of *Hispaniola* would not have the Admiral go thither, he took care to conceal his uneasiness, and gave out that he himself had so order'd it, because he would not go away without

carrying them all off, which that Caraval was not big enough to perform, by which words he somewhat pacified them, and they being in Hopes of a speedy Deliverance, laid aside the wicked Design they had form'd, and took no farther Notice of it.

But the real Case was exactly as the Admiral suspected it; for the Governor of *Hispaniola* being afraid that if the Admiral return'd to *Spain*, their Catholick Majesties would restore him to his Government, had sent that little Caraval on purpose for a Spy; to observe the Condition the Admiral was in, and to know whether he could get him destroy'd with safety; all which he was farther confirm'd in, by what had happen'd to *James Mendez*, an Account of whose Voyage in writing was sent him by the aforesaid Caraval, and is as follows.

James Mendez and *Bartholomew Fiesco* setting out from *Jamaica* the first Day they perceiv'd a settl'd Calm, about Sun-set they lost sight of Land, when half the Christians and Indians taking their watch together, they advanc'd all that Night without staying, so that when Day appear'd they were all weary enough. But the Commanders encouraging the Men, and sometimes rowing to set a good Example, after eating to recover their Strength and the Fatigue of the Night, they fell again to their Labour, seeing nothing but Sky and Water. And tho' this was enough to afflict them, yet their Distress in another Respect was

was much greater, being no other than that of *Tantalus*, who having the Water within a Span of his Mouth could not quench his Thirst; and such was their Condition; for through the ill Management of the Indians, and the great Heat of the foregoing Day and Night all their Water was drank up, without any Regard to the Future; and as all Heat and Labour is intollerable without Drink, the higher the Sun ascended the second Day after they set out, the more their Heat and Thirst encreas'd, so that by Noon they had no Strength left.

But, by good Fortune, the Captains finding two Casks of Water untouch'd, wherewith they now and then reliev'd the *Indians*, they kept them up till the Cool of the Evening, encouraging them, and affirming they should soon come to a small Island, call'd *Nabazza*, which lies in the way 8 Leagues distant from *Hispaniola*. But so dejected were the others by their Thirst and extraordinary Labour, that they thought they had lost their way; for according to their Reckoning they had already run 20 Leagues, and ought now to be in Sight of that Island. But it was their weariness that deceiv'd them, as well because a Canoe that rows ever so swift cannot in a Day and Night row above 10 Leagues, as because the Currents are against them that go from *Jamaica* to *Hispaniola*, which they always make the least Allowance for who are expos'd to their Violence.

In this manner they held on their way till the second Night came on without sight of

Land, when having thrown one into the Sea who died of Thirst, and several others lying stretched out at the bottom of the Canoes, they were so dispirited, weak, and spent, that they hardly made any way at all; the only Relief they had being sometimes a little Sea-water to refresh their Mouths.

But they being of the Number of those God intended to save, it pleas'd him that in this their Extremity, as the Moon began to rise, *James Mendez* perceiv'd she got up over Land, a little Island covering her in the Nature of an Eclipse; nor could they have seen it otherwise, it being so small and at that Time of Night.

Hereupon chearing them up, and shewing them the Land, he so encourag'd them, supplying them now and then with a little Water out of the Barrels, that the next Morning they found themselves near the said Island which they found to be all round a hard Rock, and about half a League in Circumference.

Landing here the best they could, they all gave God Thanks for his Mercy; and there being neither Spring nor Tree in the Island, they went about with their Calabashes, taking up the Rain-water that lay in Holes among the Rocks, which it pleas'd God to give them in such Plenty, that they fill'd both their Bellies and Vessels. But though the wiser sort advis'd the others to Moderation in Drinking, yet their excessive Thirst made some of the *Indians* so far exceed all Measure, that several of them died upon the Spot, and others got desperate Distempers.

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Having rested themselves in this Place till Evening, diverting themselves, and eating such Things as they found along the Shore, rejoicing to be in sight of *Hispaniola*, and fearing some bad Weather might start up, they made ready to put an end to their Voyage; and accordingly about Sun-setting in the Cool of the Evening, they set out towards Cape *St. Michael*, the nearest Land of *Hispaniola*, where they arriv'd the next Morning, being the fourth Day after their Departure from *Jamaica*.

Having rested themselves here two Days, *Bartholomew Fiesco*, who was a Gentleman that stood upon his Honour, would fain have return'd to the Admiral as he had commanded him; but the Men being spent and indispos'd with their past Labour, and having the Dangers they had escap'd, as it were, continually before their Eyes, he could not get a single Soul either *Spaniard* or *Indian* to accompany him.

Meantime, *James Mendez*, as being most in haste, was gone up the Coast of *Hispaniola* in his Canoe, notwithstanding he was then very ill of a Quartan Ague, occasion'd by his great Sufferings at Sea, and in that Condition travel'd over the Mountains and bad Roads till he came to *Xeragua*, where the Governor then was, who seem'd to rejoice at his coming, though afterwards he was extream tedious in dispatching him for the Reasons above-mention'd, till, at length, after much Importunity, *Mendez* obtain'd leave to go to *St. Domingo*, there to purchase and fit out

out a Vessel with the Admiral's own Money; which Ship being at last got ready, was sent to *Jamaica*, the latter end of *May* 1504.

But to return to the Admiral, his Company being somewhat reviv'd by the coming of the Caraval, and the Account of *James Mendez* his Arrival, he thought it adviseable to make it known to the Mutineers, that their Jealousy ceasing, they might return to their Duty. Wherefore he sent two Men of Note, who had Friends among them, and knowing they would not believe, or, at least, that they would feign not to believe the coming of the Caraval, he sent them part of the Bacon the Captain of it had presented him.

These being come where Captain *Porras* was, with those he most confided in, he came out to meet them, that they might not advance, or persuade the Men to repent them of the Crime they had committed, imagining, as the Truth was, that the Admiral had sent them a general Pardon. However it was not in their Powers so far to restrain the Men, but that they heard the News of the coming of the Caraval, the Health of those that were with the Admiral, and the offers he made them. When after several Consultations among themselves, and the principal Men, the Result was, that they should not trust to the Admiral's Pardon, but would go peaceably away to *Hispaniola*, if he would promise to give them a Ship to go in, provided two came; and if there came but one, that he should assign them half of it; and that in the mean while, because they had
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lost their Cloths, and the Commodities they had to Trade with, upon the Sea, he should share what he had with them. To which the Messengers answering, that these were no reasonable Proposals, they took them up short, saying, that since they were not granted them by fair Means, they would have them by Force.

Having thus dismiss'd the Admiral's Messengers, for fear his offers might make any Impression upon their Followers, they harangued them, saying, he was a cruel, revengeful Man, not to be trusted; and that though they fear'd nothing for themselves, since the Admiral durst not presume to wrong them, because of the Favour they were in at Court, yet they had Reason to apprehend he would seek Revenge on the Rest, under colour of just Punishment. That for this Reason, neither *Roldan* nor his Friends in *Hispaniola* had trusted him, or his offers, and it had succeeded well with them, they finding so much Favour as to have him sent into *Spain* in Irons, and that the coming of the Caraval, with the News of *James Mendez*, might have as little weight with them, they intimated that it was no true Caraval, but a Phantom, rais'd by Magick, the Admiral being very skillful in that Art; alledging, that it was not at all probable, had it been a Caraval, but the Men aboard it would have held some Discourse with those about the Admiral, and not have vanish'd so soon. Adding, that it was perfectly incredible, had it been a Caraval, but what the Admiral himself would have gone

gone aboard it, with his Son and Brother. With these Words and others to the same Purpose, they so confirm'd them in their Rebellion, that it was immediately resolv'd to repair to the Ships, to take what they found by Force, and secure the Admiral.

With this wicked Resolution they came to an Indian Town within a quarter of a League of the Ships, then call'd *Maima*, where afterwards the *Spaniards* built the Town call'd *Sevil*; when the Admiral being inform'd of their Approach and the Design they came upon, resolv'd to send his Brother against them, to endeavour if possible to reduce them by good Words; but so attended, that if they offer'd him any Violence, he might be able to oppose it.

Accordingly the Lieutenant, having drawn out 50 Men, well arm'd, and ready for Service, march'd them up to a small Hill, a Bow-shot from the Town where the Rebels were; whence he sent those two before who had gone on the first Message, to require them to be peaceable, and that their Captain should come quietly to a Conference. But they being nothing inferior in Strength or Number, and almost all Seamen, flatter'd themselves that those who came with the Lieutenant were weak and dispirited, and durst not fight them. Wherefore they would not suffer the Messengers to speak; but shaking their naked Swords and Spears, and crying *kill, kill*, they all in a Body sally'd out upon the Lieutenant's Party, six of the boldest Rebels having taken an Oath, not to part, but to go directly

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rectly against the Lieutenant, making little Account of the rest, if he was once kill'd.

But it pleas'd God they were utterly disappointed; for they were so well receiv'd, that five or six of them drop'd at the first Charge, most of them being of those that aim'd at the Lieutenant, who charg'd his Enemies with such vigour, that in a very short Time, *John Sanchez de Cadiz*, from whom *Quibio* made his Escape, was kill'd; as was also *John Barba*, the first who drew his Sword when they ran into Rebellion. Besides which several others fell down very much wounded, and *Francis de Porras* their Captain was taken; when seeing themselves handled so roughly, like base Rebels, they turn'd their Backs and fled, the Lieutenant persuing them a little way; and he would have persu'd them much farther had not the chief Men about him advis'd the contrary, by representing to him that it was good to punish, but not too severely, least, when he had destroy'd most of them, the *Indians* should think fit to fall upon the Victors, since he might observe they were all in Arms, waiting the Event of the Fray, without taking either Side.

This Remonstrance being approv'd of, the Lieutenant turn'd back to the Ships, carrying along with him the Captain of the Rebels, and some other Prisoners, where he was well receiv'd by the Admiral his Brother, and those that had remain'd with him, all of them giving Thanks to God for this Victory, which they attributed wholly to him, wherein the Guilty had receiv'd their just Punishment, and

their Pride had been humbled, none being wounded on their own Side but the Lieutenant in his Hand, and one of the Admiral's Gentlemen of the Chamber, who died of a small Wound he received with a Spear in his Hip.

But on the side of the Rebels there were many both kill'd and wounded, among which last, remarkable was the Case of *Peter de Ledesma* that Pilot who, as we mention'd before, Swam so courageously ashore at *Belem*. This Man falling down certain Rocks, lay hid there that Day and the next, till the Evening, nobody assisting him, or so much as knowing where he was, except the *Indians*, who with Amazement, not knowing how a Sword would cut, with little sticks open'd his Wounds, through one of which his Brains were seen; another was on his Shoulder, so large, that his Arm hung, as it were, loose; and the Calf of one Leg was almost cut off, so that it hung down to his Ankle; and one Foot, as if it had a Slipper on, was slic'd from the Heel to the Toes. Notwithstanding all which when any of the *Indians* disturb'd him, he would cry, *let me alone, for if I get up, &c.* at which Words they would fly away in the utmost Consternation.

The Thing by this means being nois'd abroad, he was taken up, and carried into a thatch'd House hard by, where the Dampness and Gnats were sufficient to have kill'd him; and where instead of Turpentine they dress'd his Wounds with Oil, which were so numerous, besides those already mention'd, that the Surgeon who dress'd him
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swore, that the first 8 Days, he still found out new ones; and yet at length he recover'd; the Gentleman of the Chamber dying, in whom he apprehended no Danger.

But to return to the Admiral, the next Day, being the 20th of *May*, all those that had escap'd sent a Petition to him, humbly intreating his Mercy, professing their Repentance of what was past, and their Readiness to submit to his Pleasure: Upon which the Admiral granted their Request, and pass'd a general Pardon; upon Condition, however, that their Captain should continue a Prisoner, as he was, that he might not raise another Mutiny.

And because he could not conveniently have them aboard the Ships, by Reason provoking Words might arise among the common sort, which would rub up old Sores, and might occasion fresh Tumults; and because it would be a difficult Matter to quarter and maintain so many Men together, the few he had being rather too many for his Provisions, he resolv'd to send them a Commander with Commodities to Exchange, that he might go with them about the Island, and contain them within the Bounds of Justice, till such Time as the Ships arriv'd, which he expected every Day.

The Christians being thus return'd to their Duty, and the *Indians*, for that Reason, more careful to supply them with what they wanted, they pass'd a few Days comfortably enough which made up the Year since their Arrival at *Jamaica*; after which the Ship sent by

Mendez coming to an Anchor, they all embark'd on Board her, as well Enemies as Friends; and setting Sail the 28th of *June*, proceeded on their Voyage, tho' with much Difficulty, the Winds and Currents, as hath been already observ'd, being very contrary to go from *Jamaica* to *St. Domingo*, where they arriv'd, in great need of all Refreshments, on the 13th of *August* 1504.

And here the Governor made a grand Reception for the Admiral, Lodging him in his own House, though it was but a treacherous Kindness, for on the other Hand, he set *Porras* who had headed the Mutineers at Liberty, and attempted to punish those who had a Hand in apprehending him; and to try other Causes and Offences that belong'd only to their Catholick Majesties, who had appointed the Admiral Captain-General of their Fleet; and yet notwithstanding all this he fawn'd upon the Admiral in the most fulsome Manner, using all Demonstrations of Kindness in his Presence.

At length having refitted his Ship, and hired another, on the 2d of *September*, the Admiral, his Kindred, and Servants, embark'd on Board them, most of the rest remaining in *Hispaniola*. When being got about two Leagues at Sea, the Mast of the Admiral's Ship came by the Board, for which Reason he caus'd it to return into the Harbour, the other holding on her Course for *Spain*.

Having repair'd this Damage, he again set Sail, but seem'd as if doom'd to Misfortunes, for having run about a third part of the Way, there

there arose such a terrible Storm, that the Ship was never in more imminent Danger.

And the next Day, which was the 19th of *October*, the Weather being fair, and the Ship very still, the Mast flew into four Pieces; but the Courage of the Lieutenant, and the Admiral's Ingenuity, though he could not rise out of his Bed for the Gout, found a Remedy for this Mischance, making a Jury-Mast of a Yard, and strengthening the Middle of it with Ropes, and some Planks they took from the Poop and Stern.

In another Storm they likewise lost their Fore-Mast, and yet it pleas'd God they sail'd 700 Leagues in that Condition, and at last arriv'd at the Port of *St. Lucar de Barrameda*, from whence they went to *Sevil*, where the Admiral, having rested himself a little after the Fatigues he had undergone, in *May 1505*, set out for the *Catholick* King's Court, *Queen Isabel* having the Year before exchang'd this mortal Life for a better, which was no small Trouble to the Admiral, she having always favour'd and supported him, whereas the King had prov'd unkind and averse to his Affairs, which plainly appear'd by the Reception he gave him; for though to outward Appearance he shew'd him a favourable Aspect, yet instead of restoring him to his former Power, he would have strip'd him of all, had not mere Shame prevented him. For the *Indies* daily more and more discovering what they were like to be, and the King perceiving how great a Share fell to the Admiral, by virtue of the Articles between them, was for having the absolute Dominion

minion in himself, and for disposing of all those Employments which belong'd to the Admiral, according to his own Will and Pleasure.

With this view he began to propose new Terms to him by way of Equivalent, but God would not permit them to take effect; for while the Treaty was in Agitation the King himself dy'd; and just as King *Philip* the 1st his Successor was going to *Valladolid* to confer with the Admiral, this last, much oppress'd with the Gout, and troubled to see himself put by his Right, other Distempers likewise coming upon him, gave up his Soul to God upon *Ascension-Day*, being the 20th of *May*, 1506. in the aforesaid City of *Valladolid*, having first devoutly receiv'd all the Sacraments of the Church, and testify'd his Piety by a Resignation and *Christian* Behaviour to be wish'd by all, but which few can imitate.

Thus died the great and glorious *Columbus* whose Fame will always encrease, but whose Life was a remarkable Instance on what a sandy Foundation they build their Happiness who depend upon the Gratitude of Princes.

His Body was afterwards convey'd to *Sevil*, and there by the *Catholick* King's Order magnificently buried in the Cathedral, with the following *Spanish* Epitaph cut upon his Tomb, in Memory of his renown'd Actions, and Discovery of the *Indies*.

A Castilia, ya Leon, nuevo Mundo Dio Colon.
Columbus gave a new World to Castile and Leon.

A Testimony as glorious as expressive, since nothing like it can be found either among the Ancients or Moderns.

Of the Followers of Columbus in his Discoveries.

THE Discoveries made by the brave and immortal *Columbus*, as describ'd in the foregoing Recital of his Voyages and Adventures, being fam'd abroad, soon stirr'd up others to imitate his generous Example; and that as well in his Life-time as after his Death, tho' some of these are of less Moment, we shall notwithstanding give our Readers a short Abstract of them in this Place, not only for their Entertainment, but because we think it necessary for the Harmony and Connection of our Work, that all the Discoveries of the various Parts of this new World should be related in the Order in which they happen'd; and the same Regulation we shall observe with regard to the other three Quarters.

The first of these was in the Year 1499. when *Alonzo de Ojeda* and some other private Men fitted out four Ships to make Discoveries, and sail'd from *Port St. Mary* on the 20th of May; *John de la Cosa* a Biscayner going with him as Pilot; and *Americus Vesputius* as Merchant. They steer'd their Course to the South-west, and in 27 Days descry'd Land, which they suppos'd to be the Continent. Being within a League of Shore, they sent some of the Crew in the Boat, who saw abundance of naked People, but all flying to the Mountains
for

for Fear of them; whereupon they follow'd the Coast to find some Harbour, which they met with two Days after, with Multitudes of Natives, who were not so timorous as the others, but throng'd to see the Ships. They were of a middle Stature, well-shap'd, broad-fac'd, and of a ruddy Complexion. They cover'd their Nakedness with Leaves, or Cotton Clouts; and their whole Wealth seem'd to consist in fine Feathers, Fish-bones, and green and white Stone; for they had neither Gold, Silver, nor Pearls.

Along this Coast *Ojeda* ran till he came to a Town seated like *Venice* in the Water, but containing only six and twenty great Houses; wherefore he call'd it *Venezuela*, or little *Venice*. This was in about 11 Degrees of North-Latitude.

Still keeping along the Coast of *Paria*, before discover'd by *Columbus*, for about two hundred Leagues, he sail'd two hundred farther to a Point call'd *Cabo de la Vela*. When turning back he came to the Island *Margarita*, where he careen'd, and on the fifth of *November* arriv'd at the Island *Hispaniola*, where he put an end to his Expedition.

In the Year 1500. *Vincent Tanex Pinzon*, who accompanied *Columbus* in his first Voyage set out four Ships at his own Expence, and sailing to the Southward was the first *Spaniard* that ever cut the Equinoctial-Line. Then sailing to the West, on the 26th of *January*, he discover'd Land at a Distance, which was that Point of Land now call'd *Cape St. Augustin*, on the Coast of *Brazil*, where he took Possession for the King

King of *Spain*. But not being able to incline the Natives to trade with him, he proceeded on to a River, where landing, eight of his Men were kill'd by the *Indians*; which oblig'd him to fall down again to the Mouth of the River *Maranon*, which is 30 Leagues over, and runs with such Force that the Water is fresh 40 Leagues out at Sea. Finding no Advantage could be made along this Coast, he shap'd his Course for *Paria*, whence he sail'd over to the Islands in the Way to *Hispaniola*; where being at an Anchor among them, a furious Storm sunk two of his Ships out-right, the other two escaping with much Difficulty to *Hispaniola*, where having refitted, they return'd to *Spain*. In this Voyage they discover'd 600 Leagues along the Coast which lies South-east from *Paria*.

The same Year also, *Emanuel* King of *Portugal* fitted out a Fleet of 13 Sail for the *East-Indies*, commanded by *Peter Alvarez Cabral*, who sailing from *Lisbon* in *March*, stood out far to Sea, to avoid the Calms on the Coast of *Guinea*; and being carried away further to the Westward than he intended by a Storm, on the 24th of *April*, he fell in upon the Coast of *Brazil* in *America*, in 10 Degrees of South Latitude. Along this Coast he sail'd a whole Day, and going ashore found Inhabitants of a tawny Colour; but the Weather still forcing him to the Southward, he at length came to an Harbour which he call'd *Puerto Seguro*, in 17 Degrees of South Latitude, where he landed, and found the Conuntry abounding in Cotton and *Indian* Wheat. Here he erected a Cross in Token of

Possession, and from thence call'd the Country *Santa Cruz*, but the Name of *Brazil* prevail'd, by Reason of the great Quantities of that Sort of Wood found there. From hence he likewise sent a Ship to *Portugal* with Advice of this Discovery, while he with the rest proceeded on his Voyage to the *East-Indies*.

The next Year *Roderick de Bastidas* fitted out two Ships at *Cadiz*, and taking *John de la Cosa*, of whom Mention has been made before, for his Pilot, put to Sea in the Beginning of *February*, following the same Course *Columbus* had taken when he discover'd the Continent; and coasting all along where he and the others had been, traded with the *Indians*. But not satisfied with this, he run to the Westward, and discover'd *Santa Martha*, *Carthagena*, and as far as *Nombre de Dios*, being above an hundred Leagues more than was known before. When his Ships being leaky and worm-eaten, so that they could not long keep the Sea; and having now gain'd a considerable Quantity of Gold and Pearls, he with Difficulty made over to *Xaragua* in *Hispaniola*, where his Ships sunk after saving the Treasure; and he, after suffering Imprisonment in the Island, escap'd into *Spain* with his Wealth. He carried some *Indians* over from the Continent to *Hispaniola*, who went stark naked, only carrying their Privities in a Gold Case like a Funnel.

In the Year 1506. the above-mention'd *Vincent Yanez Pinzon*, and *John Diaz de Solis*, setting out upon a new Expedition, came to the Island *Guánaja*, whence *Columbus* had turn'd back to the Eastward, but they holding on their Course

Course still westward, run along the Coast of *Honduras*, till they came to the Bottom of a very deep Bay, which they call'd *Baia de Navidad*, now call'd the Gulph of *Honduras*. Then turning to the North-east, they discover'd a great Part of the Province of *Yucatan*, whereof little was afterwards known till the Discovery of *New Spain*.

In the Year 1507. *Nicholas de Obando* Governor of *Hispaniola*, having a Mind to assure himself whether *Cuba* was an Island or Part of the Continent, sent *Sebastian de Ocampo* upon the Discovery; who sailing along the North-side of it, touch'd at several Places, and career'd his Ships at the Port now well known by the Name of the *Havana*, which then he call'd *de Carenas*. Then continuing his Voyage to the westernmost Point of the Island now call'd *Cabo de St. Anton*, he turn'd to the Eastward along the South Coast of the Island, and put into the Port of *Xagua*, which is one of the finest in the World, and capable of containing 1000 Ships. Here he was courteously entertain'd by the Natives, and supply'd with abundance of Partridges and good Fish. Having rested here a few Days, he proceeded on his Way along the Coast, and return'd to *Hispaniola*, with the certain News of *Cuba's* being an Island. The next Year, 1508. *John Diaz de Solis*, and *Vincent Yanez Pinzon*, who in the Year 1506, had sail'd to the Gulph of *Honduras*, set forwards with two Caravels fitted out at the King's Expence to discover the Coasts of *America*; and coming upon *Cape St. Augustin* in about 11 Degrees of South Latitude,

continued from thence their Navigation along the Coast, often landing and trading with the Natives till they came into 40 Degrees of the same Latitude, whence they return'd with an Account of what they had discover'd into *Spain*.

In the Year 1509. *John de Esquibel* was sent from *Hispaniola* by the Admiral *James Columbus*, Son to *Christopher Columbus*, with 70 Men to settle a Colony in the Island of *Jamaica*.

The same Year the famous Pilot, *John de la Cosa*, sail'd from *Spain* with one Ship, and two Brigantines, to join *Alonzo de Ojeda* in the Island *Hispaniola*, from thence to go and settle on the Continent. *James de Nicuesa* set out soon after him with four Ships upon the same Design. After some wrangling about the Limits of their Provinces, they agreed that the River of *Darien* should be the common Boundary, and then set forward for their several Governments.

Accordingly, in the Year 1510. *Ojeda* landed at *Carthagena*, where, after endeavouring in vain to conciliate the *Indians* by fair means, he came to a Battle with them, in which *John de la Cosa* was kill'd, and himself escap'd by Flight, having lost 70 *Spaniards*. *Nicuesa* arriving a few Days after, and joining the Remainder of *Ojeda's* Forces, reveng'd the Death of the former 70, and took a great Booty. However *Ojeda* would not stay there, but remov'd from thence to the Gulph of *Uraba*, where he founded the Town of *St. Sebastian*, being the second built on the Continent, if we reckon that founded before by *Columbus* near the same Place, which stood but a short Time, as hath been already observ'd, nor did this continue

nue long, being remov'd soon after to *Darien*, most of the *Spaniards* being consum'd. *Nicuesa* with his Ships sail'd to *Veragua*, and after many Miseries and Calamities, at last founded the Town of *Nombre de Dios* on the small Isthmus that joins the two Continents of North and South *America*.

The next Year, 1511. the Admiral *James Columbus* sent *James Velasquez* from *Hispaniola*, with about 300 Men, to plant the Island *Cuba*, where no Settlement had yet been made.

In the Year 1512. *John Ponce de Leon*, who in the Year 1508. had first planted the Island of *Puerto Rico*, being grown very rich, fitted out three Ships in that Island, in order to discover to the Northward. Accordingly he sail'd on the 3d of *March* steering North-west, and by North, and on the 8th anchor'd at *Baxos de Babueca*, near the Island *del Viejo*, in 22 Degrees and a half of North-Latitude, and on the 14th at the Island *Guanabani*, which was the first Land discover'd by *Columbus*.

From hence he directed his Course North-west, and on the 27th, being *Easter-Sunday*, discover'd an Island not known before, which he call'd *Florida* or *Flow'ry*, both because it look'd green and pleasant, and because it was *Easter*, which the *Spaniards* call *Pasqua Florida*. After landing to take Possession, he sail'd South and by East till the 21st of *April*, when he met so strong a Current, that though they had the Wind large his Ships could not stem it, which oblig'd him to come to an Anchor. This was the well known Channel of *Babama*, through which most Ships return out of those
Parts

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Parts into *Europe*. Here he landed, and had a Skirmish with the *Indians* who were warlike.

On the 8th of *May* he doubl'd the Point of *Florida*, which he call'd *Cape Corrientes*, because of the great Strength of the Current there. Being come about they spent several Days along the Coast and neighbouring Islands, watering and careening, and dealing with the *Indians* for Hides and Guanines, which are Plates of a Mixture of Gold and Copper.

In *June* he had two Battles with the *Indians*, who came in their Canoes, and attempted to draw his Ships ashore, or at least to cut his Cables, but he beat them off with great Slaughter; after which he came upon the Coast of *Cuba*, though he knew it not to be that Island, and from thence return'd to *Puerto Rico*, whence he sail'd into *Spain*, to beg of the King the Government of what he had discover'd.

In the Year 1513. *Basco Nunez de Balboa*, who had cunningly worm'd himself into the Government of those *Spaniards* who had built the Town of *Darien*, having us'd all his Endeavours, like the other Adventurers, to find out more Gold, and being told by an *Indian*, that there was a powerful Prince beyond the Mountains who had great Plenty of it, and that there was likewise an open Sea, he resolv'd to cross over in Search of those Treasures, and to gain the Honour of being the first that discover'd this so long look'd-for Sea.

Accordingly he set out from *Darien* in *September* with *Indian* Guides, and other Slaves given him by the Caciques his Friends to carry Burdens.

Burdens. Entering upon the Mountains he had a Skirmish with a Cacique who endeavour'd to have stop'd him, in which the Cacique was slain with 600 of his Men.

On the 25th of *September*, he reach'd the Top of the Mountains, from whence, to his unspeakable Joy, he saw the South-Sea; when with great Satisfaction he hasted down, and coming to the Shore, waded into the Sea, to take Possession of it for the King of *Spain*. This done he embark'd with 80. of his Men, and a Cacique his Friend in nine Canoes, and put out to Sea, where a Storm rising, they had all like to have perish'd; however with much Difficulty they got into a small Island, where some of their Canoes were beaten to Pieces, and all their Provisions lost.

The next Day with what Canoes remain'd they landed on the further Side of the Bay, where after some Opposition from the *Indians*, they concluded a Peace, and the Cacique brought a good Quantity of Gold as a Present, and 240 large Pearls; and seeing the *Spaniards* valu'd them, he sent some *Indians* to fish for more, who in four Days return'd with 12 Mark-weight of them, each Mark being eight Ounces. *Basco Nunez*, vastly pleas'd with the Present, would fain have gone over to the Island where they fish for these Pearls, which was five Leagues distant, but was advis'd by his *Indian* Friends to put it off till Summer, by Reason of the Danger of the Sea at that Season. Here he likewise receiv'd some Information of the Wealth of *Peru*, and was assur'd that

that the Coast ran along to the Southward without End, for so the *Indians* imagin'd.

Having made this great Discovery, and gather'd vast Riches, he return'd over the Mountains to *Darien*, whence he presently dispatch'd a Vessel to the King, with Advice of what he had discover'd.

In the Year 1515. *John Diaz de Solis* was sent out again by the King of *Spain* with two Caravels, to discover to the Southward. He set sail on the 8th of *October*, and came to *Rio de Janeiro* on the Coast of *Brazil* in 22 Degrees 20 Minutes of South Latitude, whence he continued his Course down the Coast which lies South-west to *Cape St. Mary* in 35 Degrees of Latitude, where he landed, and took Possession, according to Custom, for his Sovereign.

From hence turning with one of his Caravels into the River of *Plate*, which, because it was so very large and fresh, the Sailors call'd the fresh Sea, and he from his own Name, the River of *Solis*, he saw along the Shore abundance of *Indian Houses*; and the People coming down to gaze at the Ships, and offering what they had in a friendly Manner, he ventur'd to land with as many Men as his Boat would carry, but soon paid dear for his Indiscretion; for scarce were they got a little Way from the Shore, when they were set upon by a Multitude of the Natives, who lay in ambush in the Woods, and every Man of them was kill'd, notwithstanding the Cannon fir'd from aboard. After this Slaughter the *Indians* remov'd the dead Bodies further from the Shore, yet not so far but the *Spaniards* aboard might see the horrid

Banquet

Banquet they were preparing, for having cut off the Heads, Arms, and Legs, they roasted the Trunks whole and eat them.

Having seen this dismal Spectacle, the Caravel return'd to the other Vessel, and both together repair'd to *Cape St. Augustin*, where having loaded with *Brazil* Wood, they sail'd back to *Spain*, with the melancholy Account of their Voyage, and the unhappy End of their Commander the famous Seaman *John Diaz de Solis*.

The next Year, 1516. *Pedrarias*, who was then Governor of *Darien*, sent the licentiate *Espinosa* with a good Body of Men over the Mountains to *Panama*, who had some Encounters with the *Indians* in those Parts, and made some considerable Discoveries along the Coast. But being a Man more intent upon Wealth than ambitious of Fame, after having gather'd a great Quantity of Gold, and abundance of Slaves, he return'd to *Darien*, leaving *Hernan Ponce de Leon* with a small Force at *Panama* to supply his Place.

This Commander who was of a different Disposition, lost no Time; for though he had no good Vessels, but only some small Barks, yet in them he ventur'd to run up to the Northwest as far as the Port of *Nicoya* in the Province of *Nicaragua*, 140 Leagues from *Nata*, which is at the Mouth of the Bay of *Panama*; but here finding the People in Arms, and that they fled to the Mountains upon the first View, he concluded there was no good to be done at that Time, and therefore return'd to *Panama*.

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At the same Time also *Basco Nunez de Balboa*, who first discover'd the *South-Sea*, cut Timber at *Ada* on the *North-Sea*, and having hew'd it out fit to put together, had it all carried up twelve Leagues up to the Top of the Mountains by *Indians*, *Blacks*, and *Spaniards*, and thence down to the *South-Sea*, which was an incredible Labour, there being all the Timber, Iron-work, and Rigging for two Brigantines; and with these he persued his Traffick in the *South-Sea*.

The same Year, likewise, a Voyage was made by Sir *Thomas Pert*, and *Sebastian Cabot*, by the Command of King *Henry the VIIIth* of *England*, to *Brazil*, but without any Circumstances worthy the relating.

In the Year 1517. *Diego Velasquez*, the Governor of *Cuba*, gave Commission to *Francisco Fernandez de Cordova*, to make some further Discovery on the Continent. Accordingly he bought two Ships and a Brigantine, which having furnish'd with all Necessaries, and 110 Men, he sail'd from *Havana* on the 8th of February to the Westward.

At the End of 21 Days they saw Land, and drawing near perceived a great Town. Five Canoes immediately put off to the Ship, and 30 *Indians* came aboard wearing short Jackets without Sleeves, and Clouts about their Waists instead of Breeches, who being well entertain'd went away highly satisfied; and the next Day 12 Canoes came with a Cacique, who often repeating *Conez Cotoche*, that is come to my House, the *Spaniards* misunderstanding the Expression, call'd that Point of Land *Cape Cotoche*,

toche, being the westernmost of the Province of *Yucatan* in 22 Degrees of Latitude.

Here the *Spaniards* going ashore, were set upon by some *Indians* who lay in ambush, whom they easily put to flight; and going a little farther, found three Structures or little Temples with Idols, built with Lime and Stone, which were the first that had been seen in *America*.

Returning to their Ships, they kept along the Coast westward till they came to *Campeche*, where they landed, and took Water out of a Well, there being no other, and immediately retir'd to their Ships, the *Indians* pursuing at their Heels, but without engaging.

Further on at a Place call'd *Potonchan*, going ashore again for Water, they were again beset by the *Indians*, who kill'd 50 of them; and the rest, whereof many were grievously wounded, and amongst them their Commander with much Difficulty got aboard their Ships.

Wanting Hands to man all their Vessels, through this Misfortune, they burnt one, and with the other two, in great Want of Water, stood over for the Coast of *Florida*, where as they were again filling Water, the *Indians* suddenly fell upon them, and kill'd four or five more, but at length were put to flight, so that the *Spaniards* had time to carry off their Water, after which they return'd to *Cuba*, where *Fernandez* their Commander died of his Wounds.

Notwithstanding the unhappy Issue of this Voyage, the Discovery of *Yucatan* so highly pleas'd the Undertaker *Diego Velasquez*, and flatter'd his Hopes, that he immediately provided three Ships and a Brigantine with 250

Men, to prosecute the Enterprize, appointing *Juan de Grijalva*, a Relation of his own, to be Commander in chief; and *Pedro de Alvarado*, *Francisco de Montexo*, and *Alonzo Davila*, all Men of eminent Rank, to command under him. But notwithstanding they made all the Dispatch which Men fond of the Expedition could possibly do, it was the Eighth of *April*, the Year following, before they put to Sea.

They set out with a Design to follow the same Course as had been taken the Year before; but being thrown off some Degrees, by the Strength of the Currents, they came upon the Isle of *Cozumel*, (the first Land they saw) where they refresh'd themselves, without Molestation from the Natives; and returning on board, persued their Course, and in a few Days found themselves in Sight of *Yucatan*; when having doubl'd the Point of *Cotoche*, the most eastern Part of that Province, they stood westerly, with the Larboard to the Shore, which they coasted, until they arriv'd at *Potonchan*, or *Champton*, where *Francisco Fernandez de Cordova* receiv'd the Wounds of which he dy'd: To revenge whose Death only, without any other Occasion, they landed, and having kill'd several *Indians* and terrified the rest, persued their Discovery.

From hence they stood westerly, still keeping as near the Shore as was consistent with their Safety, when they discover'd along the Coast, which extended a great Way, and appear'd very delightful, several Towns, with large Structures of Lime and Stone, which very much surpriz'd them. And because one of the Soldiers

diers happen'd at that Time to say that this Country was like *Spain*, the Comparison so much pleas'd the Hearers, and made such an Impression upon them, that, from these accidental Words, the Name of *New Spain* was given to the Country, with the adjacent Parts, which it has ever since retain'd.

Still following the Coast, they at length came to where the River *Tobasco*, one of the navigable Rivers, which runs into the Gulph of *Mexica*, discharges itself at two Mouths. From this Time it was call'd the River of *Grijalva*; but the Province, water'd by it, scituate on the Frontiers of *New Spain*, between *Yucatan* and *Guazacoalco* retains the old Name. Here they beheld spacious Groves, and so many Towns between the two Rivers, that with the Hopes of making some considerable Discovery, *Juan de Grijalva* determin'd, (with the Advice of his Captains) to go up the River, and take a View of the Country; and finding by the Soundings, that he could only make use of his two lesser Vessels, he embark'd all his Soldiers on board them, and left the other two at an Anchor, with Part of the Sailors.

It was with some Difficulty that they began to overcome the Strength of the Current, when they perceiv'd, at a little Distance, a great Number of Canoes, full of arm'd *Indians*, and on the Shore several small Bodies of Men, who seem'd prepar'd for an Engagement, and who both by their Voices and Gestures endeavour'd to persuade the *Spaniards* that their landing would be dangerous; but they, without regarding their Menaces, approach'd in
good

good order, being commanded by their General not to fire or make any Signal, but of Peace; and the Admiration the *Indians* were in at the Make of the Ships, and Difference of the Men and Habits seeming to have impos'd upon them the same Orders, *Grijalva* made use of this favourable Opportunity to leap on Shore, with Part of his Men, which he effected with great Expedition, and without the least Hazard.

He then drew them up, and erected the royal Standard: and after those customary Solemnities were perform'd, which, though little more than Ceremonies, are yet call'd Acts of Possession, he endeavour'd to make the *Indians* understand, that he came in Peace, without any Design to injure them; which Message he sent by two *Indian* Boys, who were made Prisoners in the first Expedition to *Yucatan*.

This Embassy had so good an Effect, that immediately about 30 *Indians* ventur'd to draw near in four Canoes, yet with great Precaution. They saluted the General very courteously, who return'd it with equal Civility, and after having remov'd their Apprehensions by some Presents, he made them a short Harangue, giving them to understand, by the Help of his Interpreters, that he and his were Vassals to a powerful Eastern Monarch, in whose Name he came to offer them Peace, and great Advantages, if they would become his Subjects. They heard his Proposal with visible Marks of Displeasure, and immediately answer'd, That they wonder'd he should talk to them of a new Master, before he knew whether they were discontented with him they had already: But that

as to the Point of Peace and War, they would speak of it to their Superiors, and return with their Answer. Which said, they departed, leaving the *Spaniards* equally surpriz'd and concern'd at their Resolution and good Sense; the Satisfaction of having found *Indians* of better Reason than ordinary, being allay'd by the Difficulties they expected to meet with in subduing them.

While they were busied in these Thoughts, the same *Indians* return'd with Signals of Peace, telling *Grijalva* that their Caciques did accept it, not that they dreaded War, or were easy to vanquish as the People of *Yucatan* (whose Defeat they had heard) but because the *Spaniards* having left Peace or War to their Election, they thought themselves oblig'd to chuse the best; and in Token of this new Friendship they brought Plenty of Provision and Fruits.

A little while after came the principal Cacique, with a slender Attendance of unarm'd People (thereby to shew his Confidence in his Guests) whom *Grijalva* receiv'd with great Politeness, which the *Indian* return'd with equal Courtesy, and after the first Compliments, order'd his Servants to come up with another Present (which he had brought) of divers Curiosities, as Plumes of various Colours, Robes of fine Cotton, with some Figures of Animals to adorn them, made of Gold, or curiously wrought in Wood, set in Gold, or overlaid with it. Some Authors likewise affirm that the Cacique, at this Interview, presented him with a Suit of Armour of fine Gold, with all the Pieces belonging to it; that he arm'd him-
self

self compleatly with them; and that they fitted him as well as if they had been made for him. But however that was, it is certain, that without staying for *Grijalva's* Acknowledgments, the Cacique gave him to understand, by the Help of his Interpreters, that his Design was Peace, and that the Intention of that present was to take a friendly Leave of his Guests, in order to maintain it; intimating, by those Words, that too long a Stay upon his Coasts would be disagreeable. The General, who very well understood his Meaning, and who, besides being charm'd at his Behaviour, was glad of the Convenience of leaving Friends at his Back, was unwilling to give him any Umbrage, and therefore immediately answer'd that he very much esteem'd his Liberality, and that his Purpose was to pass forwards without making any Stop; which he accordingly executed, taking his Leave, and directly going on board, having first presented the Cacique and his Attendants with some *Castillian* Trifles, which, though of little Value, yet bore a great Price among them for their Novelty.

Pursuing their Voyage, they stood the same Course, still discovering new Lands and Towns, without any memorable Accident, until they came to a River, which they call'd the River of Flags; because on the Shore, and the neighbouring Coasts, they saw a great Number of *Indians*, with white Flags hanging at their Spears, and who, by the Signals they made with them, together with their Cries, and different Motions, made a shew of Peace, and seem'd rather to invite than forbid; which *Gri-*

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Julva observing, order'd *Francisco de Montejo* to advance with some of his Men in two Boats, to try the Entrance of the River, and discover the Intentions of those *Indians*.

This Captain finding a good anchoring Place, and little to apprehend from the Behaviour of the People, gave Notice to the rest to come up, which they did, and all landing, were receiv'd with great Admiration and Marks of Joy by the *Indians*, three of whom, who, by the Ornaments of their Habits, seem'd to be the principal Men of the Country, immediately advanc'd to pay their Compliments to the General, who receiv'd them with great Civility, though most of this Interview was manag'd by Signs, none of the Interpreters belonging to the *Spaniards* understanding the Language.

After this they were agreeably surpriz'd with a Banquet, which the *Indians* had provided of different Sorts of Food, plac'd, or rather flung upon Mats of Palm, under the Shade of the Trees; a rustick and disorderly Plenty, but nevertheless grateful to the hungry Soldiers. After which the three aforesaid *Indians* commanded their People to shew some Pieces of Gold, which they had concealed till then; and by their Manner of shewing them gave the *Spaniards* to understand, that they did not design them as presents, but to purchase with them the Merchandize of the Ships, the Fame whereof had already reach'd their Ears. When presently a Fair was open'd for Strings of Beads, Combs, Knives, and other Toys, which in that Country might be call'd Jewels of great Price; the Fondness the *Indians* had for those

Trifles giving them a real Value. And by this Commerce the *Spaniards* acquir'd, during the six Days they stay'd there, to the Amount of fifteen thousand *Pesos* in Gold.

After this, finding the Heat of Traffick over, and fearing the Ships might be in some Danger from the North-Wind, the General took his Leave of those People, after having understood by certain Signs, that the above-mention'd three Chiefs were Subjects to a mighty Monarch call'd *Motezuma*, whose Empire extended over numerous Countries abounding with Gold and other Riches; and that it was by his Order they had come in the aforesaid peaceable Manner to examine into the Intentions of the *Spaniards*, whose neighbourhood, in all Appearance, gave him some Disturbance.

Sailing on, without losing Sight of Land, they pass'd by two or three Islands of small note, and afterwards landed in one, which they call'd the Island of Sacrifices, because going in to view a House of Lime and Stone, which overlook'd the rest, they found several Idols of a horrible Figure, and more horrible Worship; for near the Steps where they were plac'd, lay the Carcasses of six or seven Men, newly sacrific'd, cut in Pieces, and their Intrails laid open; which miserable Spectacle struck the *Spaniards* with equal Surprize and Detestation.

Wherefore they stay'd here but a very little while, and especially because the Inhabitants seem'd to be in a Consternation; insomuch that they could bring few or none to traffick with them. Therefore they pass'd on to another Island, which was not far from the main Land,
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and so situated, that between that and the Coast there was sufficient Room and convenient Shelter for the Ships. This they call'd the Island of *St. Juan*, because they arriv'd there on the Day of the *Baptist*; and likewise in Respect to their General who bore the same Name. And here an *Indian* pointing with his Hand towards the main Land, to tell them how it was call'd, and often repeating, with a bad Pronunciation, the Word *Culua! Culua!* Gave Occasion to the Sirname, by which they distinguish'd this Island from that of *St. Juan de Puerto Rico*, calling it *St. Juan de Ulua*. It is very small, and consists more of Sand than Soil, besides which it lies so very low, that it has sometimes been cover'd by the Sea. But notwithstanding these humble Beginnings it afterwards became the most frequented and most celebrated Port of *New-Spain*, on that Side which is bounded by the *North-Sea*.

Here they stay'd some Days to trade with the *Indians*; who flock'd from the neighbouring Parts; and *Grijalva* finding that his Instructions limited him to discover and traffick without making a Settlement (which was expressly forbid him) consulted about giving an Account to *Velasquez* of the large Countries he had discover'd; that in case he determin'd to have him settle there, he might send him Orders with a Supply of Men, and such other Necessaries as he stood in need of.

On this Message he dispatch'd Captain *Pedro de Alvarado* in one of the four Ships, giving him all the Gold, and whatever else they had acquir'd till that Time, to the End, that the

shew of that Wealth might give his Embassy the more Weight, and facilitate his Proposal of settling, to which he was always inclin'd, notwithstanding the unjust Censures he afterwards underwent for observing his Orders too strictly.

Pedro de Alvarado being gone upon this Commission, the rest of the Ships left *St. Juan de Ulua* in pursuit of their Way, and following the Guidance of the Coast, turn'd with it towards the North, having in View the two Mountains of *Tuspa* and *Tusta*, which stretch a great Way between the Sea and the Province of *Flascala*. After which they entered the River of *Panuco*, the remotest Province of *New-Spain*, on the Gulph of *Mexico*, and came to an Anchor in the River of Canoes, to which they gave this Name at that Time, because in the little Space they stopp'd to take a View of it, they were assaulted by sixteen Canoes full of arm'd *Indians*, who, by the Help of the Current, attack'd the Ship commanded by *Alonzo Davila*, and after discharging a Shower of Arrows with great Fury cut one of the Cables, and endeavour'd to board the Ship; but the other two coming immediately up to her Relief, the Men in an Instant mann'd their Boats, and charged the Canoes with so much Vigour, that there was hardly an Interval between the Attack and the Victory, some of the Canoes being overset, and many *Indians* kill'd.

However the *Spaniards* did not think proper to pursue their Advantage; they directly weigh'd Anchor, and prosecuted their Voyage, till arriving at a point of Land which ran far into the Sea, they found it extream boisterous

ous in that Place, insomuch that though the Pilots made use of all their skill to double this Cape, they were forc'd to give way to the strength of the Current, with no small danger of oversetting or running a shore.

This Accident occasion'd them to protest against proceeding any farther; and in this they were seconded by the general Clamour of the Men, who were now grown weary of so tedious a Navigation, and more apprehensive of the Dangers that might ensue. Upon which *Grijalva*, who was a Man of equal Prudence and Courage, immediately assembl'd the Captains and Pilots to consult what was to be done in this juncture, when after many Deliberations, it being consider'd that one of their Ships had sustain'd great Damage, and wanted refitting; that their Provisions began to Spoil, as well as their People to be dissatisfied; and that withal it was directly contrary to the Instructions of *Velasquez* to make any Settlement; and that they were in no Condition to undertake it without a Reinforcement; they unanimously resolv'd to return to *Cuba*, in order to furnish themselves with what was necessary for another and more successful Expedition.

This being resolv'd upon, was presently put in Execution, when sailing back the way by which they came, they took a view of other Parts of the same Coasts, without stopping long at any Place; yet making a considerable Profit by Trading with the Natives, till they arriv'd at length at the Port of *St. Jago* in *Cuba*, the 15th of November 1518.

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A few Days before this, *Pedro de Alvarado* had arriv'd at the same Port, who was extremely well receiv'd by the Governor *Diego Velasquez*, who publish'd with incredible Joy, the Account of the large Countries that had been discover'd, and, above all, of the fifteen thousand *Pesos* of Gold, which supported the Relation, without any occasion for Exaggerations.

Velasquez beheld this Wealth with infinite Pleasure, and hardly believing his Eyes, made *Pedro de Alvarado* repeat a great many Times what he had before related, as never being tir'd with the Harmony of such good News. But this Satisfaction was soon damp'd by the Arrival of *Grijalva*, at whose Conduct he shew'd the utmost Impatience, because he had not made a Settlement in the Country where he had been so well receiv'd; and although *Pedro de Alvarado* said all he could to excuse him; and *Grijalva*, modestly declining to say all he could have done in his own Defence, laid before *Velasquez* his own Instructions, wherein he expressly forbid him to settle; yet so blind was he to Gratitude, and so transported with Ambition, that though he own'd the Order, yet he treated obedience to it as a Crime.

Velasquez knowing of how much Importance it was not to lose Time in such Affairs, lest he might lose a favourable Opportunity, gave immediate Orders for refitting the four Vessels which had serv'd in the Voyage of *Grijalva*; with which, and those he had purchased, he made up ten Vessels, from eighty to an hundred

dred Tuns, using the same Diligence in arming, and furnishing them with Stores and Provisions; but he was at a Loss to whom to give the Command. The Voice of the People was unanimous in Favour of *Grijalva*, and they are usually pretty just in their Choice. What greatly recommended him was his good Qualities, the Trouble he had already taken in this Discovery with his Knowledge of the Navigation and Country.

The other Competitors were *Antonio* and *Bernardino Velasquez*, near Kinsman to the Governor; *Baltasar Bermuder*, *vosco Porcallo*, and several other Gentlemen of that Island, all Persons of great Courage and undoubted Qualifications for the Employment to which they pretended.

But *Velasquez* who was very jealous of his Authority, and therefore wanted a Man who should be entirely at his Devotion, and have no other Aim but to advance the Glory of his Principal. continued still in his Irresolution, as fearing the Ambition of those whose Capacity he approv'd, till advising with *Amador de Lariz*, the King's Treasurer, and *Andres de Duero*, his Secretary, which two were his chief Confidants, and who knew his Temper exactly, they propos'd their intimate Friend *Hernan Cortes*, being very sparing of his Praise, lest their Advice should be suspected, insinuating that the success of the undertaking was what they had at Heart more than the Interest of their Friend.

